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America takes up Libya's terrorist gauntlet

The US government is convinced, after the bomb blasts that killed four and injured seven passengers on board a TWA airliner landing in Athens and killed two, including a GI, and injured over 200 at a Berlin discotheque popular with US servicemen, that Libya's Colonel Gaddafi is the man behind a fresh wave of international terrorism.

The bomb that blasted a hole in the cabin wall of a TWA airliner coming in to land in Athens from Rome, killing four and wounding seven, is a sure sign that 1986 will be a further year of terrorism.

It comes in the wake of a wave that peaked at the end of last year in murder, hostage-taking, piracy and massacre at Rome and Vienna airports.

If the prophets of disaster are right a further forecast seems a safe bet: that alliance ties between America and Western Europe will on no account grow more cordial.

Faced with terrorism, Nato countries have yet to succeed in finding a common language, let alone to arrive at a common strategy.

The worst clash yet was last October at Sigonella, a Nato air force base in Sicily where US planes forced an Egyptian airliner with the Achille Lauro's hijackers on board to land.

The Americans landed only to find themselves surrounded by Italian troops in full battledress.

There was no hand-to-hand fighting between Nato allies but the Italians released Abu Abbas and the Americans were so riled that the Craxi government was forced to resign in Rome.

The situation has been much the same since. When the United States imposed economic sanctions on Colonel Gaddafi, the protector and quartermaster of international terrorism, after the blood baths in Rome and Vienna, America's allies in Europe, led by Bonn, quietly slunk away.

Few politicians were farsighted enough then to realise what went on to happen at the end of March: that America, left on its own, would act on its own.

Yet now President Reagan has dealt a carefully aimed blow at the Libyan "line of death" in the Mediterranean few Europeans have failed to wring their hands in distress at this "escalation."

All said it was a further turn of the screw that would merely provoke violence. The US President was even accused of fresh coarseness, presaging a policy of indiscriminate aggression.

Such vehemence and emotion are both logical and understandable. They quickly bring us to the crux of Euro-US disagreement.

It is the fact that America is a world power, while Europe is a grouping of small- and medium-sized powers including two erstwhile would-be world powers, Italy and Germany, whose fingers were badly burnt between 1939 and 1945 in their bid for power.

Three conclusions may be reached:

- first, that the weak tend to offset what they lack in power with an excess of cheap morality;
- second, that they prefer to cultivate their own gardens and leave it to the great powers to tend the wider surroundings;
- third, that they fear nothing more than wheeler-dealing in world affairs that might upset their customary peace and quiet.

Shielded from the hardships of world affairs, all Europeans tend to be appeasers and would sooner make concessions than give as good as they get.

To be specific, the leading European powers have for years pursued a policy of partial appeasement toward terrorism (and have not, one is bound to add, fared at all badly with it).

France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany have paid political tribute to the PLO in return for being spared acts of terrorism.

But this only worked at all well in the 1970s when there was a single PLO with a single leader. Yasser Arafat now faces total anarchy, including such weird and previously unknown groups as the Arab *Revolutionary Cells* who have claimed responsibility for the TWA bomb.

Ironically but logically, Italy, Austria and Greece have lately emerged as the main theatre of terrorism. All pursued a soft policy and were virtually asking to be singled out as the scene of the action.

The United States as a world power cannot take evasive action. As the guarantor of Israel's survival and that of conservative Arab regimes America is the main target.

It is also the power keen to contain Syrian, Libyan and Iranian expansionism. As an island state America retains a vital interest in freedom of the air and seas.

This view of America's position, so alien to the continental mentality, has always risen to a challenge.

The United States first took action against piracy by the pasha of Tripoli in 1801. In 1917 the sinking of the liner *Lusitania* led to the US declaration of war on Germany.

Interestingly, Moscow most readily understood the interests of its fellow-superpower in the Great Syrte.

The Kremlin was briefed before the US Sixth Fleet moved in, and when Colonel Gaddafi was caught in the US trap Mr Gorbachov left the Libyan leader to his own devices.

If the Russians are prepared to tacitly accept the punishment of the would-be latter-day pasha of Tripoli, then why should the Europeans of all people rush to his defence?

Are we not just as seriously threatened: millions of tourists, billions in exports and freedom of the air and the seas?

Is it really true that force, even when it is carefully dosed, never works?

Colonel Gaddafi for one doesn't for a moment believe so. He is already keen to reforge links with Washington.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 4 April 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE



Warm welcome in Tel Aviv

German Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (left) is welcomed to Israel at Ben Gurion airport, Tel Aviv, by Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He was the first German Defence Minister to visit the country. (Photo: AP)

Europe faces further trade clash with Washington



The latest development in the increasingly hot trade war between the European Community and the United States [illegible] Common Market.

Trumps are unevenly distributed in the hands dealt for the clash over interim market obstacles for US exports in new European Community member-countries Spain and Portugal.

Doubtless expecting the blunt way in which the United States has since reacted to changes in customary Spanish and Portuguese markets since they joined the Community, the European Commission offered several weeks ago to hold talks within the Gatt framework.

Observers in Brussels feel the Commission was astonishingly quick off the mark given that US exporters are felt to have gained five times as many advantages as disadvantages suffered as a result of Spanish and Portuguese accession.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

European Community countries might in future have the edge in respect of a few items of farm produce but US industry stands to benefit from the new Common Market tariffs for Spain and Portugal, which are much lower than tariffs imposed before Spain and Portugal joined.

The Commission seems to have realistically gauged US sensitivities. The product range for which the Americans fear export losses totalling the equivalent of DM2.2bn include maize, millet, oilseed and soya.

In mid-1985, at the height of the last trade clash over noodles, nuts and lemons, a member of staff of Willy de Clercq, the European commissioner in

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Red carpet for Johannes Rau in Israel

Silence reigned for a moment during Johannes Rau's visit to Yad Vashem, the Jerusalem memorial to the six million Jewish victims of the Third Reich.

Cameras stopped clicking. The fire burning in the dark marble hall comes into its own as the cameras stop flashing.

The men gathered round the fire bow their heads. So do observers on the platform as they read the names engraved in the floor, names such as Auschwitz, Treblinka, Buchenwald and Dachau, each with a six-figure number of Jews killed.

Herr Rau, the Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia and Social Democratic Shadow Chancellor, had just laid a wreath and recited a psalm.

A few footsteps later he was back in everyday politics, with photographers making a beeline for the visitor as he left the memorial hall.

They barely gave him a chance to recover the composure that seemed to have deserted him momentarily, so eagerly did they bombard him with queries.

Even in Israel he was clearly seen first and foremost as Helmut Kohl's challenger in next year's German general election.

No, he said, he had not come to create an impression different from the one made by Chancellor Kohl, who many Israelis felt had rushed round Yad Vashem as though it were a tiresome obligation.

"For me the special obligation of the Germans toward the State of Israel and its people is a binding feature," he later added, "and I will stand up for this special obligation in any office I hold in my life."

So he added a keynote of his own after all, and Rau would not be Rau if he weren't to speak his mind, particularly abroad, about the Chancellor's reference to the "blessing of having been born late" (meaning too late to share blame for the Third Reich).

He and the Chancellor were both born in 1931, but Herr Rau never let the slightest doubt arise during his week's visit to Israel that he disagreed with the Chancellor on this point (although he didn't specifically say so).

Rau's way of expressing what he means invariably culminates in a question posed to his many hosts:

"Tell me what we must do or leave undone in your eyes, not to make amends but to progress from an admission of failure and guilt along a path that might lead to reconciliation."

People in Israel took him at face value on this point. He has been in Israel 15 times in the past 25 years and they trust him.

There is nowhere he isn't welcomed as an old friend, be it by Shimon Peres, by Teddy Kollek or by Sheikh Ibrahim.

The sheikh, a former Bedouin prince who has come to terms with the Israelis and settled in Beersheba, honours Johannes Rau in a very special way.

On noticing that the Social Democratic Shadow Chancellor likes the look of his dagger he pulls it out of his belt and hands it over as a gift, saying:

"Weapons aren't really suitable as gifts. But I will make this exception because we will fight with words and not with weapons."

There can also be no doubt that Rau supports this process of rapprochement between Jews and Arabs, but he resists the temptation to give specific advice, let alone to offer his opposite numbers a peace plan he has pulled out of his pocket.

In Israel, as in Germany, he prefers to work behind the scenes and to raise the curtain more or less.

It is "more" where the Peres Plan, a kind of Marshall Aid for the Middle East, is concerned. Herr Rau is as definite on this point as he is on, say, arms exports to the region.

Both in Germany and on his visit to Riyadh last autumn he was adamant in refusing to consider German arms exports to the Middle East.

He is, in contrast, strongly in favour of the Peres Plan. "I am convinced it would be good to promote a plan of this kind over and above party lines," he says, promising the Israeli Prime Minister to canvass support for the plan in the Federal Republic.

Mr Peres' plan is to set up a fund bankrolled by industrialised countries in East and West to underwrite development projects in the Middle East.

The Arab states, the Palestinians and Israel are all to benefit from the fund's activities and to jointly administer funds running into billions.

The Israeli Prime Minister hopes this idea of development aid for the entire crisis-torn region will prove as beneficial for the Middle East as East-West trade has been for Europe over the past 20 years.

People who do business with each other, exchange goods and thereby prepare for the future are no longer going to shoot at each other, he argues.

During his stay in Israel Herr Rau also met a number of Palestinian notables, but far fewer than the number of Israelis



he met and, of course, moderates like Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem.

Herr Rau didn't visit him in Bethlehem either. Mr Freij visited him in his Jerusalem hotel and Herr Rau gave him a patient hearing as he outlined his problems.

The SPD Shadow Chancellor feels there could be no question of him meeting PLO leader Yasser Arafat at present, for instance. That would be for his party to handle; the SPD's ties with Israel are not as close as his own.

He has no comment to make on a number of other topics, such as the fighting between America and Libya in the Mediterranean and the accusations levelled at former UN secretary-general Kurt Waldheim in the Austrian presidential election campaign.

Despite repeated queries he steadfastly replies: "No comment." He is determined not to lay himself open to charges of giving allies or neighbours gratuitous political advice.

He certainly has no intention of doing so while abroad, and there are limits even to his friendship with Israel in this connection.

He is presented by officials of the Israel Labour Party as the next German Chancellor and wished all the best. He is strikingly often wished all the best in the run-up to the January 1987 German general election by the various ecclesiastical officials he meets.

It is clear even in Israel that he is extremely popular with German voters. Wherever he appears in public he is hailed by groups of tourists from the

Continued on page 3

Franz Josef Strauss a welcome visitor to Syria

Hosting Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, the governor of Kuneitra, "capital of the Arab Golan," sounds an uncompromising note.

"We will win back the other two thirds of the Golan just as we wrested Kuneitra from the Zionists in a heroic battle in 1973," he says.

Herr Strauss says nothing. It is not the first time he has visited the border area between Syria and Israel.

Small gifts are exchanged, then the governor takes his distinguished guest into a room that serves as a museum.

There are slogans about the conquest of Kuneitra, a few photos and a scale model of the town before the Israelis destroyed it in 1974.

After tough negotiations US Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger persuaded the Israelis to withdraw from the area in 1974.

Exhibits also include a few burnt leaves of the Koran in a glass showcase and a large-sized map.

"Where," Herr Strauss asks, "is the Israeli radar?"

The question takes his hosts by surprise, underscoring two points, the first being that Herr Strauss does not regard Israel as a Zionist structure.

The second is that he seems to have overlooked neither the strategic nor the technological advantages the other side enjoys.

The governor, slightly taken aback, points out the spot.

Later, in the ruined town centre, a small forest of Israeli aerials can be seen on the hillock opposite the heroes' cemetery, where Herr Strauss lays a wreath for all to see.

Reality, diplomacy and propaganda are often only this far apart in the Middle East.

Syria alone cannot be considered a serious threat to Israel at present, Herr Strauss calls the strategic balance. President Assad of Syria would like to strike a long-term programme. Damascus still has a great deal left to do.

This is a point of which the Syrian leader must be well aware, yet that doesn't make his policies any the more calculable. Besides, he has other worries at present.

Herr Strauss's visit was most welcome. The Syrian government is very keen to improve ties with the West at present, it being the only quarter from which economic assistance can be expected.

The Syrians set great store by Germany. That was clear as soon as Herr Strauss embarked on a succession of political talks in Damascus on the first day of his two-day visit.

Protocol was at a higher level than on his visit two years previously. The atmosphere could only be termed cordial.

At table one joke after another was told at the Soviet Union's expense, with the Syrians laughing heartily.

Herr Strauss feels President Assad has not finally committed himself politically. Just as a war cannot be waged successfully on Israel without Egypt, so peace is impossible without Syria, he says.

That is why he outlined to the Syrian leader his desire to see Syria play a leading role in launching a peace process.

Military spending imposed a heavy burden on everyone, preventing healthy economic development, he argued. President Assad had not disagreed, Herr Strauss says.

The Bavarian Premier's frank and plain speaking are highly ... Damascus. Given his close contacts ... the Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, and the US administration, Strauss would seem predestined ... role of an intermediary in the ... East.

One success of his latest mission ... plain to see. Damascus is not ... attack the Christians militarily ... banon so as not to jeopardise the ... ment between Christians, Druze ... Shi'ite Moslems negotiated on ... initiative.

President Assad had assured him ... ia intended to observe strict neutrality, Herr Strauss said.

Among Syrian leaders this policy ... mainly supported by Vice-President Khaddam, who had underrated Lebanese Christian resistance, and secret police chief Ali Duba.

The idea was opposed by Defence Minister Tlass and Chief of the General Staff Shahabi, a man steadily gaining in stature.

It remains to be seen whether and when President Assad will resume ... dialogue with President Gemayel of Lebanon, who, like the Syrian leader, maintains close ties with Herr Strauss.

Towering psychological barriers remain to be surmounted in terms of Syrian prestige. A Syrian-Lebanese summit on ... territory arranged by Herr Strauss ... just break the ice. But the Bavarian ... sees the chances as very slender.

A further success achieved by ... Strauss mission is still under wraps ... ways assuming it was at issue.

But rumours persist in the Syrian capital that one of Herr Strauss's objectives was to negotiate the release ... three Israeli prisoners-of-war held ... the pro-Syrian Abu Nidal group.

The Israelis attach great importance ... the release of the three soldiers. It would definitely be a major success, giving Prime Minister Peres domestic political mileage if their release were to be negotiated in ... three-cornered agreement.

Herr Strauss conferred with Mr Peres in Bonn shortly before flying to the Middle East.

Some members of the Reagan administration also feel Syria might be persuaded to pursue a policy of benevolent neutrality toward the West, basically ... peace policy.

But prior concessions are expected after countless disappointments ... cent years. Without them comprehensive economic aid will certainly ... difficult.

It will remain difficult even though, ... Herr Strauss says, President ... attaches great importance not to being considered dependent on the Soviet Union.

Jürgen Liminski

(Die Welt, Bonn, 26 March 1986)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Mayor Diepgen reshuffles Berlin Senate

Mayor Diepgen of Berlin, who won comfortably at the polls last year, has reshuffled the Senate after the resignation of Interior Senator Heinrich Lummer and Building and Public Works Senator Klaus Franke.

Their places have been taken by Wilhelm Kewenig and Georg Wittwer, with George Turner taking over Herr Kewenig's job as Scientific Affairs Senator and Education Senator Hanna-Renate Laurien as Mayor Diepgen's deputy.

Berlin seems to have had more than its fair share of political imbroglios in recent years.

On previous occasions two former SPD mayors, Klaus Schütz and Dietrich Stobbe, were forced by public opinion to step down from office.

The present mayor, Eberhard Diepgen, faces a very tricky situation caused by party-political funding and bribery allegations that have surfaced lately.

New accusations and suspicions are emerging almost every day, though many are of dubious origin. But they are being heeded by the people who matter.

The Senate is finding it increasingly difficult to get on with the business of everyday politics.

At the moment it is spending more time practising political self-defence — and not very convincingly at that.

A year after his clear election victory Mayor Diepgen looks like forfeiting the political reputation so arduously regained by his predecessor in office, Richard von Weizsäcker.

Diepgen's much-praised political instinct has already let him down twice: during the corruption affair involving former CDU planning department councillor Horst Antes and in connection with Interior Senator Heinrich Lummer.

Instead of taking immediate steps against Antes, Diepgen played down the "Antes affair" until investigations by the public prosecutor forced him to do so.

This was a clear case of false consideration for alignments within the party.

His support for Heinrich Lummer is based on a kind of misunderstood sense of loyalty. Herr Lummer definitely has some very shady acquaintances and a lot of gaps in his memory.

Herr Diepgen's loyalty is all the more surprising in that political differences between them were clear last October when Diepgen was obliged to publicly dissociate himself twice from statements made by Lummer.

In one instance Lummer had called for the amendment of Article 16 of the Basic Law, which guarantees the granting of asylum to persons who are politically persecuted.

In another statement Lummer demanded that young West Berliners, who are not otherwise obliged to do compulsory military or community service, should render some kind of social service instead.

Both statements did not comply with Senate policies.

Diepgen, however, decided not to drop Lummer at the time because he regarded him as the man who could pull the votes of the party's right-wing voters.

Lummer has now admitted that he negotiated with right-wing radicals for several months back in 1971, in his capacity as the CDU's parliamentary group leader.

The aim of these negotiations was to deter the right-wing radicals from running as candidates during the city parliament elections.

He paid them DM2,000 not to stand. The money, paid out of CDU party funds, was used to paper over SPD election posters.

It now looks as if Diepgen has no choice but to drop Lummer this time.

Dropping Lummer alone is unlikely to help Diepgen and his troubled Senate. There would only be subsequent demands for other heads to roll. The mood of suspicion in the city wouldn't change.

Berlin, which still remains an encapsulated island despite the improvements achieved by the Four-Power Agreement, has laws of its own.

Public moods and public opinion can brush mayors and their Senates aside much faster than elsewhere.

The yardstick for Berliners when assessing Diepgen's performance is that he said at the CDU party conference last November when he was still head of the Berlin CDU group:

"We must not succumb to the arrogance of power. We must take up the tradition of the Prussian understanding of state in its best sense; to serve, not to rule. Those who merely help themselves rather than serving others must take their leave."

There's only one way in which Diepgen can prevent the tide of public opinion from turning against him and making him suffer the same fate as his predecessors Schütz and Stobbe: he must make a new start.

What is needed is a fundamental reshuffling of hhis Senate, which he took on almost unchanged from his predecessor in office. This doesn't mean just dismissing a few senators and replacing them by others.

According to the Berlin constitution the city's parliament, the *Abgeordnetenhaus*, or House of Representatives, decides who and who isn't senator after names have been suggested by the mayor.

The CDU-FDP coalition government in Berlin has 81 of the 144 deputies in parliament.

Former mayor Dietrich Stobbe had to

Eberhard Diepgen
(Photo: Sven Simon)

resign because he was unable to secure the majority he needed to reshuffle the Senate after members of his own party refused to give him their vote.

Whether Diepgen has the strength to radically reshuffle the Senate remains to be seen.

Will his own party, the CDU, give him its undivided support? And what about the coalition partner, the FDP?

If the crisis in the Senate drags on it will damage both the city's image and the election chances of Diepgen's party.

This is why many are calling on him to act speedily and resolutely to put and end to the crisis.

Peter Jochen Winters

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 April 1986)

Contin...

Federal Republic. "Look, there's our Prime Minister!" people will say, and Johannes Rau visibly enjoys this popularity no matter how many hands he then has to shake or how far his timetable runs adrift because protocol has failed to allow time for bathing in the crowd.

At moments such as these a little of the tension he has undergone these past few months vanishes from his face. He raises his bushy eyebrows and breathes deeply.

Asked at one such moment how he rated his election prospects he answered with a quotation from David Ben Gurion, the legendary founder of the State of Israel, who said: "If you don't believe in miracles you aren't a realist."

Jürgen Zurheide

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 April 1986)

Fischer's first 100 days

A few years ago Hesse Prime Minister Holger Börner would never have dreamt that one day someone like Joschka Fischer would show him a clean pair of heels in the public popularity ratings.

There's hardly a women's magazine which hasn't yet probed into the private life of Hesse's new Environment Minister, who has just completed his first 100 days in office.

Now the world at least knows that he prefers sleeping in the nude.

Joschka is definitely in demand, although most interest centres on his personality and not on his performance as Minister.

He likes playing football, for example, and has often been seen (more recently) in the VIP rostrum at the Frankfurt football stadium.

His second marriage would seem to be on the rocks. He now prefers to shave himself on Wednesdays rather than Mondays. This is the stuff of which mass popularity is born and not boring descriptions of what happens in some ...

... Fischer finds it easy to get the public talking about his personality and distract interest from his job as Minister.

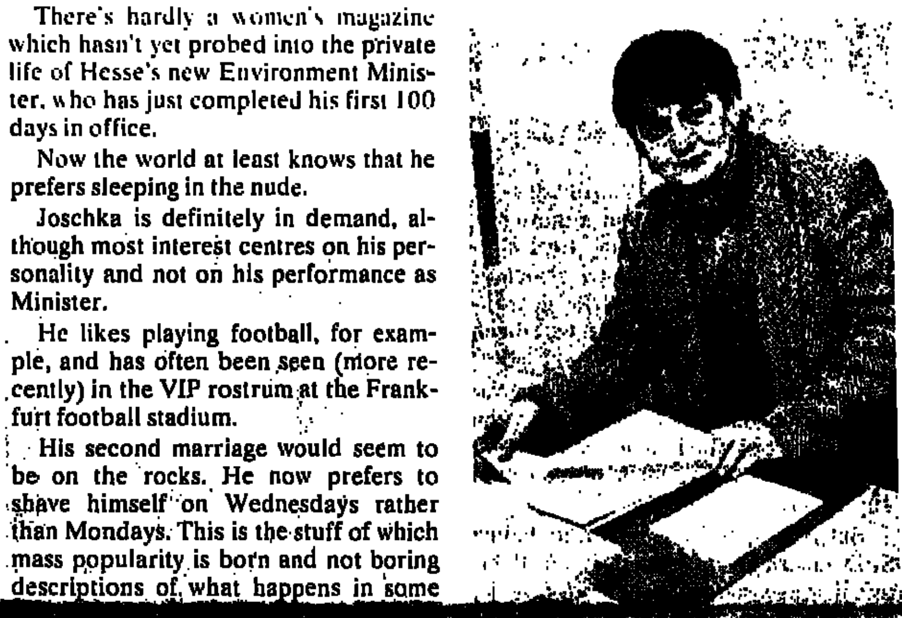
He was not given the period of grace given to other politicians to make their mark in office. His promotion to Ministerial rank all happened too fast.

There are many critics waiting in the wings to pounce on any mistakes he might make.

They include both representatives of industry, the CDU and the FDP, and members of his own party, the Greens, who feel that the current coalition with the SPD is sheer hell and that Fischer is some kind of traitor.

The big guns on both sides, however, have so far been unsuccessful.

The CDU, for example, tried to link



Joschka Fischer
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Fischer with the murder of the former Hesse Economics Minister Heinz Herbert Karry.

Fischer took the affair in his stride and left is up to the Chief Federal Prosecutor in Karlsruhe to issue a public denial of such allegations.

The fundamentalists in his own party also tried to deliver a punch below the belt.

Shortly after their ex-comrade Raphael Keppel mysteriously disappeared they suddenly found a letter in which Fischer and the more pragmatic members of the Greens are accused of wanting to turn the party into a sister party to the SPD.

The whole affair became extremely *embarrassing when Keppel turned up* in Paraguay.

Fischer expected this kind of barrage criticism. But he has concentrated on setting his own house, i.e. Ministry, in order.

His personnel policy is not all that different from the line taken by his predecessors in office.

He often runs into conflict with staff councils and opposition parties. Fischer has come to realise that his hands are very much tied as Minister. There certainly hasn't been a Green Revolution in the Ministry yet.

In an effort to make sure that the critics in his own party didn't notice this he took a mighty swing at the chemicals firm Hoechst.

In reality, however, Fischer's criticism of the firm's pollution practices was no more than a pat on the cheek.

The new thresholds laid down by Fischer for the introduction of polluted water into rivers etc. were already respected by Hoechst.

Experts of all political shades, however, agree that Fischer's guidelines for the control of pollution at the plant itself rather than at a later stage is a forward-looking approach.

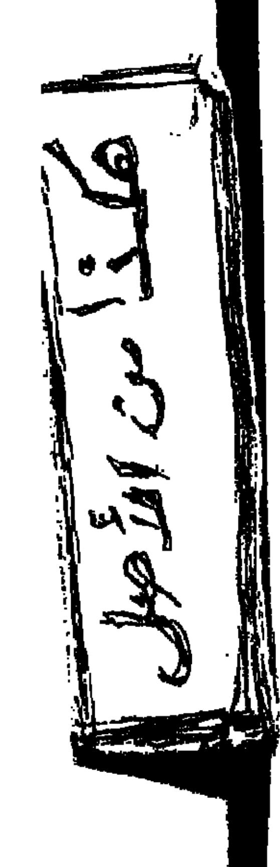
The pollution register called for by Fischer's Ministry is his biggest success so far. Not much to show for the first 100 days, you might feel.

However, he has disproved those who predicted there would be a mass exodus of industry from Hesse after he became Minister.

And he has proven those right who predicted that a Green minister would not be able to turn the wheel of history any faster than anyone else.

Christoph Risch

(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 March 1986)



■ PEOPLE

Frankfurt mayor sets his sights at Bonn



Walter Wallmann
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Frankfurt's Christian Democratic mayor, Walter Wallmann, is rumoured to be planning a move to Bonn after next year's general election.

He led the CDU to sensational absolute majorities in traditionally Social Democratic Frankfurt in 1977 and 1981 and narrowly retained control of the city in last year's local government elections.

Rumours have been rife since the early 1980s. Mayor Wallmann has often denied them ("my place is in Frankfurt"). This time there is definitely more truth in them.

Dr Wallmann has been an extremely successful mayor of Frankfurt but he first made a name for himself in Bonn as chairman of the Bundestag committee that probed the Guilleaume affair.

(Günter Guilleaume was the GDR spy at the Chancellor's Office who was Willy Brandt's downfall in 1975.)

Walter Wallmann, it is increasingly clear, has no intention of ending his political career as mayor of Frankfurt.

Christian Democrats who have been urging him to stay in Frankfurt because without him the CDU would lose to the SPD in the 1989 local government elections have abandoned their efforts.

There may be no-one to rival him as a potential CDU mayor of Frankfurt at present but Christian Democrats are busy looking for a man or woman to follow in his footsteps.

Leading local Christian Democrats are placing bets that Frankfurt CDU leader Wolfram Brück would make the running next year if Wallmann were to be invited by Chancellor Kohl to join the Bonn Cabinet.

There would be nothing dishonourable about the change. "I enjoy being mayor of Frankfurt," he now says. "I am not keen to move. But in the foreseeable future a situation could arise that would make me reconsider."

This is taken to mean he feels a 10-year stint as mayor of Frankfurt is enough. He doesn't need to apply for a job in Bonn; Chancellor Kohl has approached him.

He is certainly no longer denying that his departure from Frankfurt is as good as definite.

A significant move has been made by Hilmar Hoffmann, the Social Democrat Mayor Wallmann retained in charge of arts in the city.

They can jointly claim credit for having restored Frankfurt's reputation as a centre of music, museums and the arts after it had been dismissed as a mere banking and stock market centre.

Herr Hoffmann now says he will only stand for re-election in two years' time if Mayor Wallmann's successor is the right man. Wolfram Brück would reportedly be just the job.

He is an enlightened conservative Herr Wallmann brought with him from Bonn in 1977 and now knows his way around Frankfurt well.

The CDU national executive in Bonn is said to have suggested half a dozen possible candidates for mayor of Frankfurt.

Mayor Wallmann was keen on none except Hanna-Renate Laurien, but Frau Laurien, who is Education Senator in Berlin, is not interested.

Frankfurt's Social Democrats and Greens have already cast Herr Brück, a 48-year-old Rhinelander with none of the good cheer traditionally associated with Rhinelanders, in the role of a right-wing bogyman dead set on pursuing hard-nosed conservative policies.

They didn't fancy having to campaign against Frau Laurien but they relish the idea of Herr Brück running against Social Democrat Volker Hauff.

Herr Hauff failed to lead the Social Democrats to victory over Herr Wallmann and the CDU last year, but if he were to succeed in 1989 the SPD majority could oust Mayor Brück two years later.

The Christian Democrats have so far been unperturbed by such speculation.

Albert Bechtold
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 March 1986)

First German appointed to head Stockholm peace institute

Social Democrat Walther Stützle, retired as head of planning at the Bonn Defence Ministry in 1982, is to take over as director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri) in October.

In October 1982, when Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl took over as Bonn Chancellor, Stützle, 41, had served under Social Democratic Defence Ministers Helmut Schmidt, Georg Leber and Hans Apel.

Like the new CDU Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (and unlike many Social Democrats) he supported the Nato missiles-and-talks resolution, but he still had to go.

As a civil servant he wasn't sacked, merely retired, but unlike others jettisoned to make way for the new men he was not content to sit and twiddle his thumbs.

He had worked as a cub reporter for the *Sylter Rundschau*, covering fashion shows in Westerland, for instance. So maybe he could find a job in journalism.

He joined the home news staff of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, specialising in security and disarmament.

He began to cover other political topics, not to mention the more mundane work (for a former head of a large government department) of subediting copy and sitting it out at the night desk waiting for late news.

But he is a political science graduate and his days in journalism are numbered now he has been appointed director-designate at Sipri in Stockholm.

For a wide range of reasons his appointment is anything but a matter of course. He is, for one, the first German to head the institute, which is bankrolled by the Swedish government. Previous incumbents have been British.

His keen support in Bonn for the Nato missiles-and-talks resolution (the talks aspect of which he never ceased to stress) will not have made his selection any easier.

But the supervisory board, including SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr, unanimously agreed to appoint Stützle, an unquestioned expert, for a five-year term.

The only opposition came from the ranks of the 30-odd members of staff from all over the world, including Eastern Europe.

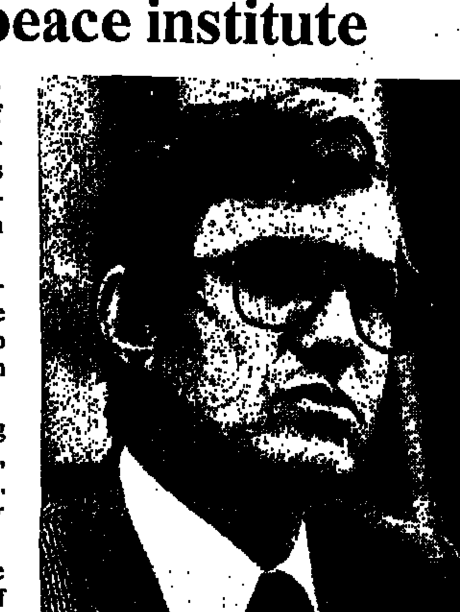
But their objections seem to have been overruled because Olof Palme backed Stützle, arguably to give a specific accent to Swedish neutrality.

Sipri was founded in 1966 and has made a name for itself in security and disarmament research. Stützle says its main task is to find the facts and not to make opinion.

But he remains convinced he was right in supporting the Nato twin-track decision inspired by former Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

In his view the Nato resolution was





Walther Stützle
(Photo: Sven Simon)

first and foremost a disarmament bid. It later went wrong in many respects, he admits, but Europe can still only achieve security by means of a combination of defence and detente.

Sipri publications under his aegis can be sure to underpin this political credo.

Sten Martenson
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 23 March 1986)

Otto Schily
(Photo: AP)

Green MP steps down — but not out

Otto Schily, who stepped down as a Green MP in Bonn on 13 March, seems unlikely to have gone for good.

After three years in the Bundestag he made way for someone else in keeping with the Greens' rotation principle. He was not happy to go but he did show signs of relief.

He said his parting speech, made in the debate on the findings of the Bundestag committee set up to probe allegations of dubious party-political donations by the Flick Group, was his last speech to the Bundestag for the time being.

Pundits in Bonn are convinced he will be back. He has unmistakably gained a taste for parliamentary work despite its ups and downs, and the Flick Affair may well have whetted his appetite.

But they will be able to speculate for a while whether his comeback will be with the Greens or the Social Democrats and whether he will serve as a Bundestag MP or, as *Land* Minister, in the Bundesrat.

He would do Bonn credit in any capacity. Party-political opponents readily agree that he has done the Bundestag a power of good; only his fellow-MPs on the Green benches finally felt he was becoming burdensome.

These two claims are not a contradiction in terms. He weighed too heavily on the Greens by virtue of his intellectual stature.

He was more than a match for any of the second-generation Green MPs who took over when the first rotated in mid-term. Other first-generation Green MPs such as Joschka [illegible] Kelly are out of [illegible] various reasons. Fischer rotated and is now Environment Minister in Hesse, while Frau Kelly has been so nervous and restless that she is no longer in the Green mainstream.

Schily's intellectual stature alone need not have brought him to the brink of a break with the Greens. Disenchantment and alienation grew over policy differences.

Schily isn't a zealot and he isn't really even an idealist, while he certainly can't be called an ideological sectarian.

He is admirably tolerant in dealing with those who hold views that differ from his own. He advocates a state monopoly in the use of force. He is op

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Reinhard Gehlen
(Photo: Sven Simon)

■ ESPIONAGE

No publicity is good publicity at BND in Munich

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Munich's suburban electric railway rattles past the headquarters of the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*, the 30-year-old German equivalent of the CIA and other intelligence services.

All that can be seen from the train window is a nondescript grey wall two *metres (6ft 6in)* tall, monotonous and unadorned with graffiti.

There is only one entrance. When the steel gate slides open it reveals for a brief and tantalising moment a view of the most top secret government agency in the country.

It is a view of turnpike-style road blocks, guard rooms, spotlights, closed-circuit TV cameras and tall, unusually-shaped aerial masts.

Were it not for the greenery and the peace and quiet one might feel reminded of Checkpoint Charly in Berlin.

Hidden away in Pullach, a high-class residential suburb of Munich, the BND, founded 30 years ago in April 1956, is as shy of publicity as ever.

Few journalists have ever succeeded in gaining entry to this holy of holies, and what they later had to say was not very informative.

Visitors seem to have recalled little of what they saw behind the miles of closely guarded walls other than paintings of Bonn heads of state and of Frederick the Great.

They have also told us that the buildings are very distinguished in their setting of gardens, ponds and statues by Arno Breker that presumably date back to when this was the official residence of Hitler's deputy, Martin Bormann, and Nazi leaders were regular visitors.

Even telephoning the BND is easier said than done. Its phone number is in the Munich directory, but callers are asked who they are and then rung back by a press officer once their credentials have been checked.

He promises to send you a press file on the BND's history, but that is the last you hear from him.

The BND, which will officially cost German taxpayers DM232m this year, seems even in an anniversary year to feel no public relations are the best public relations.

It is unofficially said to have known in advance that the Berlin Wall was to be built in August 1961 and to have had forewarning of fighting in the Middle East.

There are obscure claims that 70 per cent of Nato intelligence material on the East Bloc is gleaned by the BND.

Without access to authentic, objective information about the agency's intelligence work the writer can only review what has been published about the BND over the past 30 years.

If the press files are any guide the history of the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* has been a succession of scandals.

They began when General Gehlen, the legendary Wehrmacht intelligence expert who founded the BND, was accused of employing former SS men.

He was also criticised for illegal observation of 52 politicians of all parties. The BND's role was, from the outset, strictly limited to intelligence work abroad.

At the end of 1961 a long-serving BND officer, Heinz Felfe, was found to have been a KGB agent. He recently published his memoirs in East Berlin, where he draws a KGB pension.

General Gehlen retired in 1968. His successor, General Wessel, hit the headlines from 1977 in connection with espionage by a woman member of his staff and with illegal censorship of letters from East Bloc countries.

Leading BND officers and officials went over to the other side and sang, turned out to have been "moles," committed suicide or were fired, and be it merely in connection with adultery or political intrigue.

Political parties may repeatedly have denied claims of meddling with the BND, but it has in reality always been a party-political plaything and bone of contention.

Only last year BND chief Heribert Hellenbroich was sacked in connection with the defection of a former colleague at the *Verfassungsschutz*, the Cologne agency in charge of domestic counter-espionage.

Even more recently, a parliamentary commission of inquiry has probed and criticised "private contributions" to BND funds totalling DM400,000 made by the Flick Group and other industrialists.

It would clearly be unfair, and maybe unwise, to accuse the 30-year-old BND of having nothing but failures to its credit.

Ex-ambassador Hans Georg Wieck, who took over as head of the BND last October, said it would be wrong to talk in terms of a crisis of confidence in the intelligence services.

But he had to admit that they had been beset by a fair number of failures and that recent espionage cases had "left their traces."

Yet BND activities remain so secret that only a select few people seem to have been given a copy of the 30th anniversary *festschrift*, which has little or nothing to say about its findings.

The BND has a payroll of 7,000, about half of whom work at the Pullach headquarters. It is answerable to the Chancellor's Office in Bonn.

Its work, says the *festschrift*, is "of enormous importance for the Federal Chancellor and members of the Federal government and for the government machinery."

Herr Wieck writes in the preface that BND work is arduous and requires self-restraint to the point of self-abnegation.

But the quality of its work was in no way inferior to that of allied intelligence services and deserved to be given the credit in Germany these agencies enjoyed in their respective countries.

Five years ago Chancellor Schmidt did not attend the silver jubilee ceremony. He merely referred, on a note of restraint, to the BND as a "quiet partner" of the Federal government.

This time Chancellor Kohl visited Munich for the ceremony and held a speech in the BND's honour behind the tall grey walls.

Karl Stankiewitz
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 27 March 1986)



Hans Georg Wieck
(Photo: Poly-Press)

Continued from page 4

posed to political fundamentalism and feels Greens should share political responsibility.

But he is so adamant on the rule of law that no less a person than the greatest living German historian, Golo Mann, has called him the Robespierre of our day and age.

In the name of "public happiness" the French revolutionary sent thousands of people to the guillotine before his rapidly growing number of opponents sent the brutal puritan to the hangman.

Just as Robespierre enjoyed popular idolatry for a while, so Schily is cosseted and admired by a morbidly self-assured society group as the intellectual prophet of their downfall.

He is a Green who wears a coat and tie and a lawyer's cloak, a man with a Roman fringe hairstyle and a young head with bright and flashing eyes that keep others at a distance.

He went to a Waldorf school yet despite an anthroposophic education he has his feet firmly on the ground and is not given to eurhythmic dancing.

He plays the violin and is somehow awesome, the sort of person you feel will stop short at nothing.

He certainly has no compunction in defending terrorists in court or in taking the Federal Chancellor to court on charges of false testimony — regardless of the consequences.

Both are moves Otto Schily has made out of cool and calculated conviction. This seeming contradiction rounds off his personality. It is that of an impassioned man but one who deploys his passion calculatedly.

Eduard Neumaier
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 March 1986)

■ LABOUR

Bundestag passes controversial 'anti-strike' legislation

The Bundestag has approved an amendment to paragraph 116 of the 1969 Labour Promotion Act by a majority of 265 to 210 votes. The vote was taken after a heated debate lasting four hours. Chancellor Kohl emphasised that although the amendment was important the creation of new jobs was even more urgent. The SPD said it would use all permissible means to fight the Bill and referred to a "black day for the workers." The Bill now goes before the Bundesrat.

After lengthy political controversy the amendment to paragraph *116* of the Labour Promotion Act has finally been passed by the Bundestag.

The Bill made blood boil throughout German society like almost no other legislative measure before it.

But the Bundestag majority in its favour came as no surprise, even though the coalition's united stance was not expected.

Contrary to American tradition the party whip cracks louder than the silent qualms some conservative politicians may have had about supporting the Bill.

Nevertheless, doubts were openly expressed by the CDU's social committees and a number of leading party members, such as Kurt Biedenkopf and Ernst Benda.

The longer the discussion on the pros and cons of this Bill dragged on, the more obvious it became that the difficulties it would encounter had been underestimated right down the line.

What originally sounded so sensible and necessary (except to the trade unions), namely safeguarding the neutrality of the Federal Labour Office in *industrial disputes, finally developed* a momentum of its own.

This was not only due to this considerable union opposition to the proposal, which often exceeded the bounds of the permissible, particularly in the case of the engineering workers union IG Metall.

The main reason for the near debacle was the fact that the whole issue had not been properly thought out.

This in turn meant that numerous and justified objections were raised against the attempt to stop the payment of unemployment and short-time benefit by the Federal Labour Office to workers indirectly affected by an industrial dispute.

Belated efforts to cushion these arguments were then unable to stem the tide of widespread criticism.

Much of the criticism was levelled against the word "neutrality."

Labour law expert Bernd Rüthers, who certainly cannot be accused of having union sympathies, was one of many critics who made this clear.

Was the Federal Labour Office, he asked, in breach of its commitment to neutrality by paying unemployment money and thus contributing towards an extension of a strike?

Or was the fact that it refused to pay and thus caused the strike to be "prematurely" called off represent a breach of neutrality?

It would have obviously been better to clarify this question before formulating the amendment.

Perhaps the last link in the chain of unexamined requirements for the Bill's acceptance is the Constitutional Court's ruling that a person's entitlement to unemployment benefit is a property right guaranteed by constitutional law.

This court decision means that the claim that workers indirectly affected by an industrial dispute are legally entitled to unemployment benefit because this money represents workers' contributions to the unemployment insurance scheme cannot simply be dismissed.

It is not yet clear what consequences the court's decision will have for the future of paragraph 116.

These and many other questions should have been clarified before the new wording for the paragraph was laid down.

The dispute surrounding this labour law stipulation primarily results from the fact that matters were pushed through too fast.

Shortly before the Bill was passed by the Bundestag alterations were made or called for. The final result is unlikely to satisfy anybody.

The employers are dissatisfied because nothing has really been clarified and because their suggestion to stop any kind of payment to workers indirectly affected by industrial action stood no chance of being accepted.

In fact, the employers must now accept the fact that the new wording of the law enables unions to adopt a strike strategy which puts the Federal Labour Office in a position in which it *cannot* refuse to pay unemployment benefit.

Union representatives for their part are incensed at the general trend of the government labour policies and feel that the law is now more restrictive.

It is difficult to discern exactly what has been clarified by the reformed version of paragraph 116.

One key aspect is that no unemployment or short-time money should be paid to workers in an area outside of the immediate strike area if the union's central demands there are the *same* in nature and extent as the demands made in the strike area itself.

This together with the hastily set up neutrality committee to decide whether or not the payment should be made are bound to cause the courts a big headache in the near future.

Every decision by the president of the Federal Labour Office as chairman of

Continued on page 7

§ 116: the facts

The amendment to paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act now approved by the Bundestag deals with the payment of unemployment or short-time benefit to persons indirectly affected by strikes or lockouts.

Workers who do not belong to the industry in which industrial action is being taken but who are nevertheless affected by this action always receive unemployment or short-time benefit.

Indirectly affected workers in the *same branch but not in the immediate* area of the industrial dispute will in future receive no money from the Federal Labour Office if a union demand is made on their behalf "which is the same in nature and extent but not necessarily identical to the main demand made in the industrial dispute" and if they stand to benefit from the outcome of the dispute.

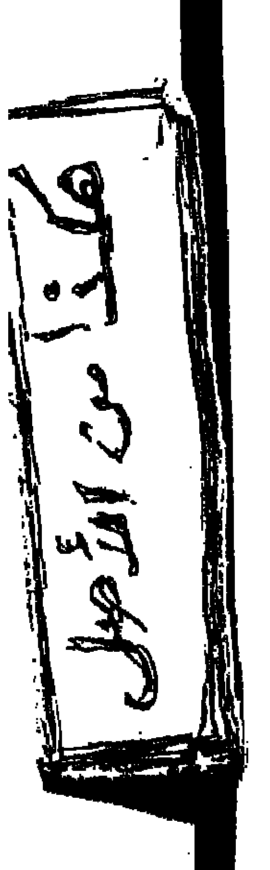
A demand is said to have been forwarded "if it has been decided upon by the official decision-making body or can be regarded as given in view of the behaviour of the collective bargaining parties in connection with the intended collective bargaining agreement."

In cases of conflict a neutrality committee, consisting of three union and management representatives respectively and chaired by the president of the Federal Labour Office, will take the final decision.

First and last instance appeals can be made against this decision at the Federal Social Court.

What is more, employers will in future be required to provide more proof of the fact that worker layoffs have in fact been caused by an industrial dispute. *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 21 March 1986)



Ex-chief justice finds Bill unconstitutional

When former Constitutional Court chief justice and Christian Democrat Ernst Benda first expressed his misgivings about the proposed amendment to paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act the response by his party colleagues was no more than a pitying smile.

After Benda starting airing his doubts more publicly and thus indirectly supporting the "other side" the CDU and CSU started getting really angry.

Many conservative politicians spoke derisively of their embarrassing colleague.

Benda has now presented a 350-page report to back up his claim that the amendment to paragraph 116 is unconstitutional.

The report was commissioned by SPD Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia.

In the meantime, the number of CDU politicians who would like to see Benda declared a *persona non grata* because of such "betrayal" has grown.

One of the CDU's best-known legal experts as the chief witness for the SPD and trade unions is something which really hurts.

Admittedly, those who disqualify Benda's remarks as far-fetched and airy-fairy could experience a rude awakening if an appeal is made to the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe questioning the constitutionality of the controversial paragraph.

Even allowing for a certain over-reaction by the media, Ernst Benda was certainly never a poor jurist. Anything but.

And during his term as Constitutional Court chief justice he always observed strict party-political impartiality.

The court's decision against conducting a census a few years ago, which is still a thorn in the flesh of the coalition in Bonn today, definitely bore Benda's stamp.

This was a brave decision at the time, establishing the right to self-determination in the field of data protection on the verge of a new stage towards an information society.

Anyone who has so far supported the planned labour law amendment and who soberly appraises Benda's arguments against the new paragraph's constitutionality will find it difficult to avoid feeling uneasy.

The proof of an inadmissible legislative infringement of the property rights guaranteed by Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, would appear to be conclusive.

The legal entitlement of workers to the benefits of the unemployment insurance scheme, says Benda, which is primarily financed by the contributions of insured persons, meets all the requirements needed to be classed [illegible] right.

[illegible] opinion a refusal by the Federal Labour Office to pay unemployment benefit or short-time money to workers who are indirectly affected by an industrial dispute and belong to the same branch if not the same area in which industrial action is being taken is a breach of Article 14 of Basic Law.

He has his doubts as to whether there is an imbalance of power between collective bargaining parties which warrants any legal clarification in this field.

His objections must be taken seriously.

It would be embarrassing for the Bonn coalition and government if Benda's misgivings should turn out to have been well founded right from the start.

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 29 March 1986)

Government and employers rap Benda report

The report of the former president of the Federal Constitutional Court, Ernst Benda (CDU), on the amendment of paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act has been sharply criticised by both government and employers.

The unions, on the other hand, feel that the report confirms their own position.

In the light of the report, the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB) says it is now "absolutely essential" for the Federal Constitutional Court to examine the constitutionality of the amendment.

The SPD's parliamentary group leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel, has also announced that his party would appeal to the court if the Bill was accepted by the CDU/CSU majority in the Bundesrat.

Federal Justice Minister Hans Engelhard (FDP) dismisses Herr Benda's legal misgivings. The Federal government, he says, sees no reason why it should reappraise its position on the Bill.

Herr Engelhard says "the amendment to paragraph 116 approved by the Bundestag is compatible with the constitution." He says Herr Benda's opinion that the amendment represents an improper and excessive infringement of the property rights of workers who have contributed to the unemployment insurance scheme is incorrect.

The planned regulation was an absolutely permissible delineation of the content and limitations of such property rights.

The Minister stressed that lawmakers must have scope for regulating the relationship between property rights and the freedom of association.

The government has an indisputable right to define more precisely the requirements for ensuring the neutrality of the Federal Labour Office during strikes.

The Confederation of German Industry (BDI) has also contradicted Benda's opinion.

It pointed out that the compatibility of the new law with the constitution was "confirmed by the overwhelming majority of legal experts during the Bundestag hearing and Benda's opinion disproved."

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 March 1986)

■ MANAGEMENT

Computer king Heinz Nixdorf dies

Heinz Nixdorf

(Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

Heinz Nixdorf always felt in his element at the Hanover Fair. Year by year he took evident pleasure in demonstrating the gigantic strides his company made.

He was delighted to be able to show the world that German innovation and precision were not historical traits. He was proof that they were still alive and well — and in the computer business.

He died in mid-March at this year's Hanover Fair. He had a heart attack at an evening reception in the company of staff and clients. He was 60.

Nixdorf was already surrounded by a team of young executives at Hanover. They were young and uncomplicated, almost shirt-sleeved in presentation.

But that isn't to say that Nixdorf was an easy man to get on with. He is said to have been a tough customer, a typically stubborn Westphalian.

He had no qualms about saying what he meant and he was ever ready to attack IBM for being inflexible or the Bundespost for being bureaucratic. He seldom had a good word for politicians either, especially Social Democrats. "Businessmen have to keep their mouths shut," he once said, "but politicians open theirs twice as wide." But he repeatedly voiced praise and admiration of ex-Chancellor Ludwig Erhard and the social free-market economy.

More than once he threatened to transfer his head office from his native Paderborn unless the North Rhine-Westphalian authorities improved transport facilities to and from the Westphalian university town.

But Nixdorf is still based in Paderborn, from where subsidiaries in the United States and Brazil, Singapore and even Japan are supervised.

He came from a long-established Paderborn family and was the oldest of five children. After studying he set up an impulse technology laboratory of his own. He was 26.

He had no capital. Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE) advanced him DM30,000 and a cellar to work in; they were interested in the meters he had devised. Now, nearly 30 years later, Nixdorf are determined to become the largest computer manufacturer in Europe.

Nixdorf always realised he could never hope to rival US computer firms in the full range of computer technology.

So he concentrated on small- and medium-sized equipment and software tailormade to suit the user.

He and his firm were enormously successful. Nixdorf is felt to have pioneered the work station concept. US computer giants may not have feared him but they respected him.

The figures tell their own story. In 1966 turnover was DM28m. Ten years later it was DM686m. Last year it was DM3.9bn.

The group's world payroll is over 23,000. Staff were offered shares in the firm as part of a profit-sharing scheme long before the company went public in 1984.

Staff now hold about eight per cent of the firm's paid-up share capital.

Nixdorf has several other striking entrepreneurial features. They include 1,100 apprentices and a company trades college.

He was always fulsome in his praise of skilled German workers. They were responsible for producing very little waste: American goods were shoddy in *comparison.*

Heinz Nixdorf put his money where his mouth was. He was worried about the future of the Germans. What the Plague had done in ages past he felt the Pill was doing today.

So he paid women staff DM500 (and unmarried mothers DM1,000) when they had children. He had three sons of his own.

Staff health was another important point. Company sports facilities were first-rate.

He started building them "long before the bureaucrats had struggled through to grant planning permission."

He even hired the services of an Olympic gold medallist, decathlon specialist Kurt Bendlin, to help keep staff and management fit.

Nixdorf himself, not a man for conspicuous consumption, was a health fanatic from the mid-1970s when he had his first heart attack. His second was fatal.

Hans-Willy Bein

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 March 1986)

Continued from page 6

the neutrality committee (which has three union and three management representatives), on which he has the casting vote, will be immediately passed on to the courts by one of the parties for further examination.

So even after the amendment the final decision still depends on a court decision. Much ado about nothing?

All that remains in the wake of the controversial public debate on this issue is the Federal government's damaged reputation, a disavowed Labour Minister and a strained social climate.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 March 1986)



Klaus Luft (Photo: dpa)

Crown prince Klaus Luft takes over

Klaus Luft, 44, the new Nixdorf chief executive, is a man who acts while he talks.

"Look at this optical cable," he says, nestling a piece of red cable in one hand as though it were a work of art.

"This is the material on which the information autobahn of the future will be based."

With his other hand he points to a chart showing how Germany will be cabled from end to end, with data being transmitted at the speed of light.

Herr Luft has always been a man to use plain words to explain the compli*cated accomplishments* of the computer era.

He aims to convince the other person. The moment he feels misunderstood he changes tack.

"That's how I see it," he will say, "but it needn't be the last word on the subject."

Structural change, he feels, can only be brought about by means of free enterprise. It is a mistake to believe state control can do the trick.

But he expects fellow-executives to show the courage of their convictions. "We must set short-term considerations aside," he says.

He has much in common with Heinz Nixdorf, who died in mid-March at the Hanover Fair of a heart attack. He was 60.

Nixdorf, Germany's uncrowned computer king, made Luft his crown prince long before the succession.

Luft is a self-taught man who has risen to the top without a university degree.

He served an apprenticeship at Kienzle, the Black Forest watch company, and moved to Nixdorf in Paderborn at the age of 26.

In those days Nixdorf was a fairly small company with an annual turnover of DM30m. Group turnover now totals DM4bn.

He was appointed to the Nixdorf board in 1969. He was still in his mid-20s and one of the youngest company executives in the country.

He would have liked to be an airline pilot, he once said. He can certainly claim to be a high flier in his career.

He feels he owes his success to being prepared to work hard and well. His historical model is Bismarck, his contemporary model Heinz Nixdorf.

The privilege of having made his acquaintance was, he says, the crucial experience of his lifetime. *Karsten Strampe*

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 27 March 1986)

■ WELFARE

Seventy-five years of staff welfare at Siemens

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Siemens, now an international electronics group, recently celebrated in Berlin the 75th anniversary of an institution that was once a milestone in German social history.

Concerned about the well-being of its women workers, the firm set up a children's home in Berlin in 1911 and, three years later, a social welfare department.

The works welfare unit set standards in industrial social work, a sector many people are still not aware of today.

When it was launched Siemens had a payroll of 49,000.

It was the year in which Gerhart Hauptmann's socially critical play *Die Ratten* (The Rats) was premiered.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal published his book *Jedermann* and Wilhelm Wundt his *Einführung in die Psychologie* (Introduction to Psychology).

Colleges were set up in Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg to train women in social work.

Legislation was passed to protect people working at home, whose hourly wage was often less than ten pfennigs. This was the era of the emergence into the industrial age.

The previous forms of family, church and neighbourhood support for people in need proved inadequate.

Large groups of workers suddenly found themselves faced by serious problems in the rapidly expanding industrial world of the big cities.

It is no coincidence that for many years industrial social work was only provided in the firms with powerful founder personalities.

Siemens is one example, Bosch another. The "patriarchs" were clearly in charge.

The founder of Siemens, Werner Siemens, for example, wrote to his son in 1877:

"But we are human beings and wish to remain caring and not just egoistically calculating moneymakers."

The changing names given to industrial social work during the past 75 years gives an idea of how the tasks it encompasses has also changed.

During the first few years it was called welfare for women workers; in 1916 the term used was factory care, in 1933 industrial care, in 1950 industrial assistance, and since 1969 social advisory service.

Industrial social work is still primarily carried out by women.

Its initial aim was to create acceptable working conditions for the women who took over the jobs of their conscripted husbands.

What is more, it was hoped that such a service would help stabilise the domestic environment of fatherless families.

The industrial welfare workers at that time used to walk through the factories, talk to the employers and visit women workers at home or if they were sick.

The sharing out of food in the consumer cooperatives, prenatal and maternity care, and the search for accommodation were also important tasks.

Industrial social work was subjected to its toughest test between the two world wars.

The fact that there is still a sense of community in firms like Siemens today is partly due to the company management's sense of social responsibility.

Of course, there have been crises. After all, the firm's efforts in this field are a cost factor.

Siemens took a closer look at spending in this field in the late 1970s, a period in which the economic downswing began to blunt the social conscience of politicians.

Many people in the firm recall it as a time when "cool calculators" prevailed.

The company's management, however, decided not to cut back its industrial social advisory service.

This was not just a "friendly gesture," says Hans Schlitzberger, Siemens personnel director since 1980 and a board member.

The company, he claims, has a vital interest in ensuring that its employees are as happy as possible.

Schlitzberger's motto is "the quality of the life of a worker determines the quality of the behaviour of that worker."

Eleonore von Rotenhan, who has been responsible for industrial social work at Siemens since 1982, says those who dismiss this work as some kind of "anthroposophical quirk" don't know what they are talking about.

She is a qualified social economist and was professor of social education in Munich for nine years.

For those who are still sceptical she *refers to a recent American study* in which industrial social work is appraised on a cost-benefit basis.

The study concludes that there would be much more friction and greater personnel fluctuation if there were no advisory service of this kind in industry.

Substantial personnel fluctation, the study claims, leads to additional costs (of finding and training new staff) and to a decrease in production.

In the speech he gave on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Siemens' industrial social work activities, Otto Fichtner, the chairman of the German Association for Public and Private Welfare, emphasised that:

"industrial social work is not merely an embellishment, but an essential and indispensable part of modern personnel and company management."

Eleonore von Rotenhan points out that her fellow social workers are adopting an increasingly "pastoral" function.

Anton Michl, head of social policy at Siemens, confirms that "the personal support provided by the in-plant advisory service is becoming more and more important in an increasingly impersonal environment."

The service has become more personal, and people now talk about things which really move them, says Barbara Joussen, one of the social advisers at Siemens.

Take the case of the young father whose doctor told him that he must change his job because of an occupational disease.

This man is now worried about his job, and his family — his wife is expecting her third child — does not yet know about his problem.

In another case a woman who had worked for Siemens for many years told the social adviser that she couldn't cope with the new work techniques.

She had really become frightened of her work and suffered from depression.

Both cases make it clear that off-the-job social advice centres, which have no direct link to their client's place of employment, cannot provide the same kind of support.

About 10 per cent of the roughly 200,000 Siemens employees in Germany consult the advisory service each year.

A solution to the problems of about 60 per cent of these cases could not be found without the help of other departments or persons in the company.

This means that the social advisers act as go-betweens and try to persuade management and colleagues to show greater understanding rather than shun their fellow-employees.

Industrial social workers are *not just* a "fire brigade," says Eleonore von Rotenhan.

Otto Fichtner feels *that* in cases where problems and conflicts often occur the job ought arguably to be adapted to the person doing it rather *than the* other way round.

This, admittedly, is where the industrial social workers come up against clear limits in their day-to-day activities.

These relate to both the use of new technologies and friction between employees.

"You can't transfer the boss who causes a stomach ulcer," Eleonore von Rotenhan admits.

She sees one of her main tasks as that of making management more sensitive to the problems of their employees.

This, she feels, is a general social problem, but each firm must make its contribution to finding a solution.

In this context, she refers to the "clever Harvard boys" who are full of specialist know-how but have no idea of how to deal with people.

They very often assume responsiblity in departments and are then surprised at the growing lack of *motivation*. "There's plenty to do in this *field*," *says* Eleonore von Rotenhan.

The fact that many workers are heavily in debt and on (or well beyond) the verge of becoming alcoholics is another major task for industrial social workers.

The subject of drink has been particularly ignored and neglected by companies in the past, says Eleonore von Rotenhan.

Siemens has now taken steps to come to terms with this problem *after* the company management realised that a worker addicted [illegible] costs the company [illegible] a year.

[illegible] percentage share of risk persons in this respect is assumed, this means yearly costs of about DM45m for Siemens.

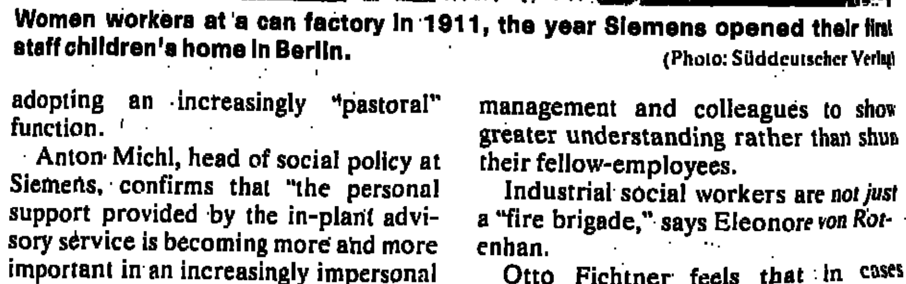
The company recently developed a programme to tackle excessive drinking involving information and in-plant self-help groups.

The objective of this long-term programme is to restore the "sick" person's ability to work, safeguard his job and facilitate his social rehabilitation.

This is a classic example of industrial social work which requires the support of all colleagues.

Support and care for those who are ill over a longer period is also extremely important. These are workers who, for

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Women workers at a can factory in 1911, the year Siemens opened their first staff children's home in Berlin. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

Continued from page 1

charge of external relations, said: "If we touch soya deliveries we will be igniting a nuclear warhead."

In the course of European Community expansion that is exactly what has happened, and the United States has been quick to react.

The US authorities promptly issued a list of import restrictions on European cheese and white wine, beer, apples, fruit juice and pork, leather goods and alcoholic drinks of various kinds.

So the European Community is obliged at least to consider counter-measures, the Commission says, although details of what it has in mind are not yet to be published.

All that has been said in Brussels is that a group of experts has been entrusted with compiling a list of US products imports of which could be limited as a retaliatory move.

For the past year stated US policy has been to regain markets lost to Europe by means of massive export subsidies if need be.

But M. de Clercq only recently warned that the Europeans could not afford to last out a trade war with the United States.

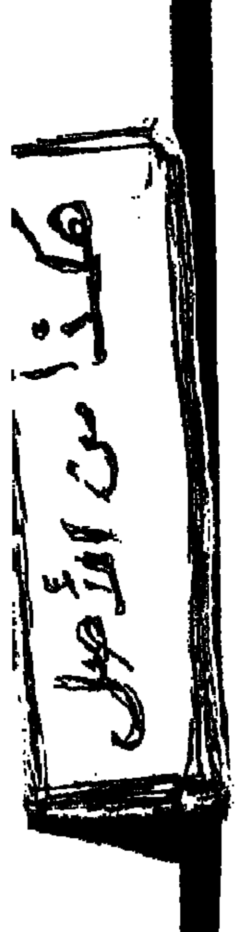
Besides, with the dollar exchange rate at its current low level US export subsidies cost less than comparable European export subsidies.

Since the dollar began its decline the European Community is said by the Commission to have ploughed about DM4bn more than intended into subsidising European products down to world market price levels.

Export refunds is the Common Market term for this practice. So the outlook is gloomy for Europe.

Rolf Spitzhüttl

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 April 1986)



■ AVIATION

Frankfurt airport plans further expansion



DIE ZEIT

Four pairs of dots in the hazy March morning sky are harbingers of another busy day at Frankfurt international airport.

They slowly increase in size and brightness as they descend toward the as yet barely visible woodland to the east.

There can be no mistaking the array of flashing red lights on the horizon. They signify five or six jet airliners awaiting take-off permission.

The pairs of dots are landing lights of incoming jet aircraft. They land, not quite simultaneously, on the two parallel runways.

In the morning mist a fresh pair of *landing lights* appear. They herald a squadron of several airliners being talked down by the control tower.

Everyone else is circling at various altitudes, waiting for permission to land. It's take-offs next; the red flashing lights taxi down the runway to their take-off positions.

It isn't just a matter of courtesy or fair play. Terminal positions are in short supply and have to be cleared to make way for fresh arrivals.

Space is at a premium in the busy *morning rush hour* at Rhine-Main, Frankfurt, with jumbos arriving from or taking off for four continents.

It is a run-of-the-mill aerial traffic jam. Congestion is congestion, whether on the road or in the air. Frankfurt is used to them and normally handles them skilfully and as a matter of routine.

Experience and improvisation will sooner or later no longer be enough, as the airport authority, owned jointly by Bonn, Hesse and Frankfurt, is well aware.

Expecting further moderate increases in the number of flight movements, it has a three-stage plan to ensure that Frankfurt remains fully capable of handling air traffic at the "turntable of Europe."

Rhine-Main comess 13th in the world's airports for volume of passenger traffic (not including transit passengers), handling 18.3 million in 1984.

The Big Three (Chicago, Atlanta and Los Angeles) handle 45.7, 39 and 34.4 million passengers respectively.

Europe's busiest airport, Heathrow, handles 29.1 mill[illegible] ranks sixth. Frankfurt is No. 2 in Europe, largely because air traffic in Paris is handled by two airports, Orly and Charles de Gaulle.

Similarly, O'Hare airport, Chicago, leads the world only because New York's air traffic is handled by three airports.

The moderate increases expected in Frankfurt in the years ahead are striking figures too: 21.8-22.7m by 1989, 24.3-27.2m by 1994 and 26.8-32.8m passengers by 1999.

Air freight is expected to increase even more rapidly, at least doubling from its present rate of about 773,000 tons a year.

Yet handling passengers at peak periods remains Frankfurt's main problem, and with it placing jet airliners on the airport's busy runways.

The airport authority may not expect all that many more flight movements. The number should increase from 227,000 take-offs and landings a year now to at most 276,000 flight movements by the turn of the century.

These figures are for civil aviation only, of course, and don't include military flights to and from the neighbouring US air base.

By the turn of the century Frankfurt will be handling a new generation of king-sized supersonic transport planes. The Boeing 744, the largest current airliner, is 71 metres (233ft) long and has a wing span of 60 metres (197ft).

Frankfurt airport planners expect the newcomers to be 83 metres (272ft) long and to have a wing span of 77 metres (252ft). They will need more handling space.

Planners must already bear this problem in mind but new buildings aren't needed just yet. Extra terminal facilities for peak periods are, in contrast, urgently needed here and now.

Extensions are planned at "C" Terminal, which used to handle charter flights only. There will be extra gates and three new luggage bays, not to mention an improved shuttle service to and from the other terminals.

This is to ensure that Frankfurt's sales slogan of handling passengers in 45 minutes at most remains more than an idle boast.

"A" Terminal, at present used mainly for domestic and Lufthansa flights, is also to be enlarged and extended after 1990 once the neighbouring multi-storey car park has been demolished (new parking facilities are under construction).

Fourteen extra bus gates are planned. Airlines hope Frankfurt will then at long last buy better buses.

The existing buses may be fine for works outings but they are a disgrace for a modern international airport.

Old or infirm passengers, not to mention travellers with children, have great difficulty in clambering aboard.

Just as aircraft handling bays are in short supply at peak periods, so are check-in facilities for passengers. Two moves are planned: extra gates and greater flexibility.

Forty new gates are planned at "A" Terminal, lucrative shop concessions being scrapped to make way for the new facilities.

Flexibility will mean a gradual change from the present arrangement of airlines paying for exclusive use of a particular gate.

If, say, Aerolineas Argentinas has no flights and neighbouring Air Portugal has three, it will use the Argentinian gate too (and vice-versa).

This change is to start soon and should be completed by 1994.

The heaviest investment will be needed from 1995 in the eastern section of the airport near the Hamburg-Basle autobahn.

Over the years a hotch-potch of buildings for various uses has been built around what was originally the sole post-war terminal building.

Some, if not all, will make way for facilities to handle the super-jumbos expected to take off and land at Frankfurt airport by the turn of the century.

The net result will be more space but not necessarily more passenger comfort. There will be more bussing from gates to take-off positions on the runway.

Passengers will also have to travel greater distances within the airport complex.

The new terminal building for super-jumbos is called the "satellite" by airport planners. It will only work if transport facilities are ideal, they warn.

But Frankfurt, a model airport in many respects, has long made do with makeshift arrangements for passengers from check-in to gangway.

Axel Thomas

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 28 March 1986)

Lufthansa trains women pilots

Evi Lausmann, 21, and Nicola Lünemann, 20, here at the controls of a Lufthansa Jumbo jet, are the first women ever to train with the German national airline as pilots. They and 16 male trainees were selected from 6,000 applicants for the two-year course. Evi (left) has no flying experience. Nicola (right) is a Lufthansa air hostess. (Photo: AP)

Continued from page 8

example, return to their jobs after having suffered a heart attack or who have to be reintegrated because of the secondary injuries resulting from a serious accident.

Again it becomes clear that industrial social work has plenty of problems to tackle.

In the Federal Republic of Germany there are currently 90,000 qualified social workers. Only about 400 are employed in industrial social work services.

Siemens alone employs 80 social workers in over 100 plants in Germany.

Christian Schneider

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 29 March 1986)

Lufthansa chief sounds note of confidence

Lufthansa aims to be one of the world's largest airlines by the turn of the century, says chief executive Heinz Ruhnau.

The Lufthansa fleet is to grow from [illegible] including charter subsidiaries Condor and DLT.

The airline's payroll is expected to increase from 40,000 to over 50,000.

This expansion will require heavy investment. This year and next, investment will total roughly DM4.4bn, including DM3.2bn for new aircraft.

In this connection the airline has recently been criticised for buying forward dollars at what now appears to be too high a price in DM terms.

Herr Ruhnau says a company like Lufthansa with a turnover of DM11bn is bound to face exchange-rate problems.

They require decisions that cannot ever be sure to have been exactly right.

He was confident the airline would earn a further profit this year, although the exact effect of the cheaper dollar and lower oil prices would not be clear until mid-year.

For domestic services Lufthansa has already cancelled a proposed 3.5-per-cent increase in fares.

Lufthansa invests in subsidiaries for two reasons, Herr Ruhnau says. One is to ensure maximum group profit. This category of investment includes subsidiaries such as Condor, LSG and German Cargo.

The other category aims at improving customer service, such as buying shares in hotels. "We remain convinced that Lufthansa has to be in a position to sell both flight tickets and accommodation," he says.

He sees no reason why international civil aviation should not continue to increase. Fuel supplies are assured until the end of the century, while technology is sure to improve.

Lufthansa are determined to make sure that running expenses are not increased to the extent that higher unit costs out profit margins to the extent of making the airline less competitive.

Growing attention is already paid to the Pacific basin. In 1960, Herr Ruhnau says, the North Atlantic accounted for 47 per cent and the Far East for four per cent of Lufthansa's business.

In 1984 the Far East accounted for 19.1 per cent and the North Atlantic for only 26 per cent of business. This trend is expected to continue as the Pacific basin emerges as the economic hub of the world.

dpa/vwd

(Bremer Nachrichten, 25 March 1986)

■ WRITING

'German Lesson' novelist Siegfried Lenz is 60

When Siegfried Lenz was asked in 1972 what he would do if he weren't a writer he said he would probably be a teacher.

He saw himself teaching German and gymnastics in Hamburg or some small town. One can certainly see the educational interest in his work.

Lenz, 60, had more than just serious intentions to enlighten in his internationally acclaimed 1968 novel "The German Lesson."

Nearly all his work confronts the reader with existential problems without professing patent remedies. Lenz himself speaks of the didactic function of literature.

Recent German history often forms the background to his work and critics take the opportunity to speak of Lenz's "German lessons," a reference to the title of his bestseller.

He was born in the small Masurian



town of Lyck in East Prussia, where his father was a customs officer.

He grew up there and was permitted, as he noted in retrospect, on a note of self-irony, to stand in line with thousands of Hitler Youth when people with names like Hitler, Koch or Goebbels came and took over the town, the pearl of Masuria.

After taking his wartime school-leaving certificate in 1943 he served in the navy on board the heavy cruiser "Admiral Scheer" as a 17-year-old.

It operated in the Baltic, and it was there that he got to know the horrors of war.

The cruiser was sunk in a hail of bombs. Lenz was among the survivors and made it to Denmark.

He deserted after someone had been liquidated in order, as he put it, "to remind us of their power." He spent the remainder of the war in hiding in the woods, aided by Danish farmers.

After the British released him as a PoW he studied to be a teacher of English and philosophy in Hamburg.

He initially financed himself by working as a small-time dealer on the black market.

He broke off his studies to become a journalist. After practical training and a short stint as arts editor of the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* he began in 1951 as a freelance writer.

His work has been published in 21 countries. They include the Soviet Union, the United States, Israel and nearly all European countries. His total German imprint alone is over 5.5 million copies.

Together with Günter Grass and Heinrich Böll, he belongs to the leading team of post-war German authors.

The experiences of the generation which grew up under National Socialism and which witnessed the catastrophe of the Second World War has shaped Lenz's works.

It happens to be a generation that also sought, with determination and idealism, to make a fresh start.

His novels, stories, radio and stage plays are dominated by themes of guilt, failure, escape, revolt, persecution and life without purpose and homeland.

A central problem which is a focal point in many of his works is the examination of the typical German concept of loyalty.

He deals with the tension between personal responsibility for one's actions and blind execution of and obedience to the law, which generations of German soldiers and officials had drummed into them as the epitome of duty.

In his first novel, *Es waren Habichte in der Luft,* 1951, in his bestselling "The German Lesson," 1968, and in his most recent stories, *Ein Kriegsende*, 1985, Lenz urges his readers to examine the danger of a concept of loyalty based on obedience, the like of which has inflicted history with sorrows.

In a 1985 interview he tackled criticism that this subject matter was too narrow. He said

"Every author has a limited conflict budget and it is necessary to portray it, use it and to remain faithful to it for a lifetime."

Lenz has repeatedly stressed the value of literary models in his development as a writer. He openly admits that he initially modelled himself, stylistically and thematically, on Hemingway.

Works such as *Der Mann im Strom*, 1957, and *Jäger des Spotts* distinctly remind the reader of Hemingway.

His first play, *Zeit der Schulden*,

Siegfried Lenz
(Photo: Hamburger Abendblatt)

1961, clearly takes after Sartre. It had its premiere under Gustaf Gründgens at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in Hamburg. It was extremely successful and was even staged in Israel.

It deals with the responsibility and guilt of every individual clearly parralleling the Nazi era.

In support of Sartre's demand for a committed, involved literature, Lenz defines the writer's task. He says:

"It's a matter of laying the world bare so that nobody can say he is innocent."

He always has an underlying *leitmotif* in his work. "First of all I have the conflict and then I invent a situation; with me the purpose comes bursting through, my index finger points," he says.

He has consistently tried for himself to put into action the demand to change the world.

In the 1960s and 1970s he and other writers canvassed for the SPD. He was particularly energetic in his support for the *Ostpolitik* of Chancellor Willy Brandt, which was based on a policy of reconciliation.

He was invited by Brandt, as was Günter Grass, to Warsaw in 1970 for the signing of the German-Polish treaty.

The Warsaw Treaty recognised the Oder-Neisse Line as Poland's western border.

Lenz wrote about the theme of loss of homeland in the novel *Heimatmuseum*, 1978.

The novel *Exerzierplatz* continued his German lessons.

Having dealt with matters of guilt, duty and homeland, Lenz wrote in *Exerzierplatz* about the development of the Federal Republic in a parable-like story.

The auspicious fresh start made by a displaced person in a nursery (the horticultural variety) in a former military manoeuvre area is followed by strife and envy among his potential heirs.

Symbolically the military make a reappearance. Parachutists are blown off course and land, crushing the young trees.

Since [illegible] has published 1[illegible] novels, numerous stories, radio plays and eight theatre plays. Along with these "serious" works he has also managed to produce humorous ones.

His Masurian stories for example. They include *So zärtlich war Suleyken*, 1955, *Lehmanns Erzählungen*, the "confessions of a black-market dealer," or *So schön war mein Markt*, 1964.

There are also his tales set in the fictitious Schleswig-Holstein village of Bollerup in *Im Geist der Mirabelle*. These works reveal the roguish writer as an accurate observer of people.

Critics and the public alike agree that the near perfect storyteller Lenz is here in his element.

Matthias Hoenig
(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 15 March 1986)

An international bestseller

There seems to be no end to the success of Günter Wallraff's book *Ganz unten* describing his experience in the guise of a Turkish worker called Ali and uncovering some very shady practices in the field of temporarily hired labour.

Wallraff's publisher Reinhold Neven Dumont announced in Bonn that two million copies of the book will soon have been printed.

This was unparalleled in the history of the German and European book trade, said Dumont.

According to the publishing company, Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 120,000 copies of the Dutch edition have already been sold.

The first Swedish edition of 10,000 was sold out immediately after publication. Licensed editions will soon be published in 12 other countries, including the USA and Japan.

Talks are also being held with publishers from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A Turkish edition of 30,000 will be ready in two weeks time.

Wallraff doubts whether the film accompanying the book, which has been showing in the cinemas for some weeks now, will be screened on German TV as planned on 1 May.

He referred to a "confidential letter" he had seen, in which the general secretary of the CSU, Gerold Tandler, urges the director-general of the Bavarian broadcasting corporation not to screen the film.

The reason given in the letter, Wallraff explained, was that "criminal methods" had been used to make the film.

This is apparently a reference to hidden cameras being used and not to the shameful working conditions shown in the film.

Wallraff also criticised the activities of the editorial team of the TV programme *Report München*, which, he claimed, was conducting a campaign against him.

In a film on Wallraff, for example, an executive of the Thyssen company, Wallraff claims, was interviewed wearing workmen's overalls.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 March 1986)

Writers' association's Berlin congress is a shambles

Conferences of the German writers' association have a fine tradition. It was founded largely by the Nobel Prize-winning writer Heinrich Böll in 1970.

Writers then had no social security and it was felt that a writers' association could help improve things. Ties were established with IG Druck, the printers' union.

The aim was to establish a trade union for everyone in the arts. Today's catchphrase and objective is a "media union."

The plan for this growth was developed in 1970 at the first conference in Stuttgart.

Prominent literary figures met in Stuttgart to discuss the role of the writer in society. Chancellor Willy Brandt told them the time when politicians could afford to ignore writers was over.

The seventh conference, held in Berlin last month, had a less fraternal euphoria. The Neue Heimat scandal (a trade union owned building firm in financial difficulty) played a part in the mud-slinging.

Some union officials with damaged credibility turned up. One could have come away with the impression that they misused the writers' association at the conference.

The continued existence of the writers' association is necessary for political, professional and social reasons. Conferences like this seriously endanger its survival.

The level of debating was miserable. What remained afterwards resembled a heap of fragments.

Berlin writer Ingeborg Drewitz said she had never experienced such a hpoelessly divided conference. The insults which flew around the hall made good use of animal metaphors. Many were extreme enough to goad writers who are usually above such behaviour into retaliating.

The writers in general took themselves far too seriously. The assembly of neatly stiff, serious, misogynous writers intolerant of any adroit use of language came across as a dabbling lay parliament.

If writers allow such conferences to take place again, with their numerous political resolutions and motions, they will lose, certainly as an organisation, their much demanded attention from the public.

Political problems plagued the conference. Liberals, left- and right-wingers clashed over attitudes to East Bloc countries. This was particularly embarrassing for people who had left East Germany.

Exiled Soviet writer Lew Kopelew appealed for commitment on behalf of imprisoned Russian writers. But the as-

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■ ARCHITECTURE

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe — reputation untarnished

Over DM30m has been spent during the last two years to reconstruct the building which served as the German pavilion at the World Exhibition in Barcelona in 1929.

The pavilion was designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and has enjoyed an almost legendary reputation in post-war architectural circles as one the 20th century's most magnificent buildings.

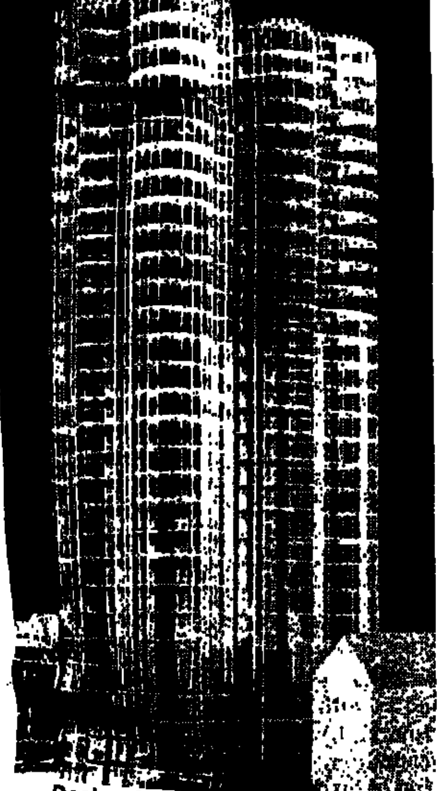
In designing it Mies van der Rohe was able to translate into architectural reality some of the revolutionary ideas which he repeatedly varied and refined throughout his life.

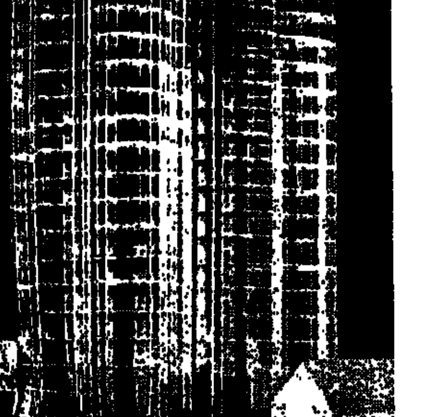
The original building remained in Barcelona for no more than a few months before being dismantled.

Via a ground plan in which the free and harmonious interplay of the walls is reminiscent of a painting by Mondrian or van Doesburg a merging sequence of rooms rises up.

It serves no other purpose than to represent pure functionalism and to emphasise the well-proportioned nature of the building's design and its precious materials — onyx, marble and travertine.

This equally magnificent and problematic self-purposiveness of pure architectural shape is also characteristic of





Design for a skyscraper, 1920

the last building Mies van der Rohe designed in Germany before he died in 1969, the Nationalgalerie in Berlin.

The gallery reflects the perfection of a search for the absolute harmony of materials, design and space. Unfortunately it is difficult to use as a museum.

Ludwig Mies, who later added his mother's family name van der Rohe, was born in Aachen on 27 March 1886. He worked as an apprentice in his father's stone masonry.

Like Gropius and Le Corbusier, the other two doyens of modern architecture, Mies van der Rohe did not have an academic, architectural, training and for this reason was probably more open-minded towards new architectural developments.

His years as an apprentice at Peter Behrens' architectural office in Berlin were particularly formative in this respect. Behrens provided modern designs for all products manufactured by AEG, ranging from lamps to entire factory buildings.

It was in Berlin that Mies van der Rohe became familiar with Schinkel's architectural style.

He never denied that many of his buildings were characterised by this style, marked by classical coolness, a sense of balance and serenity.

After designing a few smaller residential buildings in the years immediately preceding the First World War Mies designed a high-rise building near the Friedrichstrasse railway station in Berlin in 1919.

Part of a project which was both visionary and revolutionary, it was the first real indication of the course his later work was to take.

Although the building was designed as a radiant glass construction in line with the visionary Expressionism which prevailed immediately after the Russian revolution and the setting up of the Weimar Republic, the skeleton-like structure of glass and iron indicates the search for an architectural style comprising only the materials of the machine age.

The most surprising aspect of this new design, however, was the lack of facades.

Whereas architectural history up until this time, and particularly during the 19th century, had emphasised the design of facades, Mies virtually opened up the body of the building, laid bare its architectural composition.

He demonstrated how architectural space can emerge solely from the proportioning of modern materials and the principles of their design.

Following a number of private residential buildings characterised by a lively ground plan grouping and a formally strict structure, Mies was commissioned in 1927 to build a model housing estate near Stuttgart. He invited 16 of the world's most prominent representatives of modern architectural styles to put their ideas into practice.

Mies himself designed one of the main multiple dwelling units on the estate.

By the time he was invited to design the Barcelona pavilion two years later Mies had become one of modern architecture's most prominent figures and was appointed director of the Bauhaus until it was closed by the Nazis in 1933.

The Nazis regarded Mies as a representative of scorned "Bolshevist" architecture.

He was not allowed to design any more buildings and this persuaded him to accept an appointment as director of the school of architecture at the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) in Chicago in 1937.

Just like Walter Gropius, who at the same time accepted a similar position at Harvard University, this was the start of a brilliant international career.

The IIT school of architecture continued the Bauhaus tradition and disseminated its ideas throughout the world.

As designer of a number of famous buildings Mies became the most influential architect in the entire modern movement.

He refined his principle of portraying the *Zeitgeist* of the technological and mechanical age via a rational and functional architectural style from one building to the next.

By reducing the number of construction elements but at the same time enhancing the perfection of their proportions, in line with his motto "less is more", the design and the building materials became more visible and made the underlying construction principles clearer.

Perfect geometry and design were the tools used to express the precision and clarity of the age of technology.

Shortly before he died Mies summed up his architectural philosophy as follows:

"Architecture must emanate from the fundamental and driving forces of our civilisation, and can then at best express the inner structures of our age.

"I have tried to develop architecture for a technological society. My main concern was to keep everything reasonable and clear."

This philosophy was most clearly ref-

Mies van der Rohe
(Photo: IP)

lected by Mies in his design of the Seagram Building in New York (1958), which is still today one of the world's most impressive skyscrapers. Like some architectural profession of faith in rationality, technology and perfection the Seagram Building towers over a block of other New York skyscrapers.

The apparent simplicity of Mies van der Rohe's architectural style led to numerous attempts to emulate his approach.

In many cases, however, the result was mediocrity.

Building for a technological society became less and less important during the 1970s as the belief in the omnipotence of technology and progress declined.

Mies was often brought into discredit as the architect of soulless boxes.

The honesty and consistency of his architecture, however, definitely remains superior to attempts to veil society with superficiality and facades.

David Spaeth's biography entitled *Mies van der Rohe, Der Architekt der technischen Perfektion* (Mies van der Rohe, The Architect of Technical Perfection) provides a good initial insight into Mies van der Rohe's architectural style.

Winfried Nerdinger
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 March 1986)

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sociation is still very much under the shadow of *Ostpolitik*.

Former general secretary Bernt Engelmann had to resign over his invitation to the government-backed Polish trade union in the Solidarity era.

His successor, Hans Peter Bleuel, still has not managed to resolve the association's conflict over the East-West issue.

Erich Loest, a writer originally from Leipzig in East Germany, ran into dis[illegible]ers over Eastern Europe and had to resign. He was criticised in public by Bleuel for his troubles.

Bleuel himself provided the rest of the conference's controversy. The association is affiliated to the printers' union and as honorary general secretary he is entitled to DM5,000 a month in expenses from the union.

Many members have attacked him for this. When he came to give a financial report he received the sharpest and most spiteful reception. Many claimed he was in the union's pay (despite the association's ties with the union).

Critics seemed to ignore the extent of his commitments, one of which is a comprehensive history of the printers' union.

His opponents feared they would lose the rest of whatever rights they had preserved as an entity separate and distinct from the union. They were quite uninhibited in their choice of criticism.

Some of Bleuel's sharpest critics are in the Berlin regional group. Out of their ranks came people with copies of DM1,000 notes. They had Bleuel's portrait on them. This was another example of bad taste.

With all this mutual animosity the real important theme of forming a more [illegible] professions was nearly forgotten.

All the same the re-elected executive members will have the task of leading the association at the end of 1988 into a newly-founded larger media union.

The hanging out of the association's dirty linen did do some good. Dismay at so much bad behaviour forced many literary writers to respond. Among them were Arnfrid Astel, Ingeborg Drewitz, Karin Struck and Martin Walser.

They showed that writers' can command a different language to party-political speakers.

Karin Struck reminded the conference that the heart of literature was not to be found in non-fiction ([illegible] Bleuel's speciality) but in fiction, literature, poetry.

This threatened to create another polarisation, one which had been avoided whwn the organisation was founded.

It was avoided then due to committed integration figures such as Böll, Grass and Walser.

Today the discussion on the quality and role of literature could become a threat to the organisation.

Anna Jonas, who stood against Hans Peter Bleuel, polled 19 votes to his 25. She is a person who could lead such a discussion without creating polarisation.

[illegible] lecture about fantasy and stubbornness betrayed so much knowledge of the writer's day-to-day affairs that nobody could maintain that here was an elitist poet unfit for dealing with the organisation's daily chores.

Her failure to be elected disappointed those who feel no longer represented by the asociation.

After the election Hans Christoph Buch and Ernest Wichner resigned. Frederik Hetmann resigned as chairman in the Rhineland-Palatinate.

If the winning candidate Hans Peter Bleuel wants to prevent the organisation from breaking up or becoming totally meaningless, one can but hope the writers' association will not one day consist of mere text producers rather than men of letters.

Herbert Wiesner
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 18 March 1986)

■ ENVIRONMENT

Hamburg eco-counsellors give free advice in environmentally aware homes

Who, me? An environmental litter lout? But I'm *so* careful with glass and waste paper. I take every little jar to the glass container and make separate bundles of old newspapers every other week.

These are all splendidly convenient habits that salve the conscience, at least superficially, until you start to wonder whether they are enough.

Heinz Jürgen Pick knows the answer, and not just in theory. Practice is his *forte*, and he, as an environment counsellor, comes to the customer.

Pick, 28, is a Hamburg biologist and a member of AUGE, an environment, health and nutrition action group.

Yet he isn't, as this writer had imagined, a combination of hot gospeller, rat catcher and Green MP. "We appeal to people's egoism," he says.

It is clearly a successful approach. He and his four associates are fully booked for weeks ahead. Counselling is provided free of charge, which is obviously an incentive, but donations are welcomed.

The environmental advice service is based on the initiative shown by Maximilian Gege of Ernst Winter & Sohn, a Hamburg manufacturer of tools for the diamond trade.

He persuaded the firm's proprietors, Ernst-Michael and Georg Winter, to sponsor the scheme, which was launched with DM160,000 in capital.

Pick doesn't waste much time on the-

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ory. We are all consumers, polluters and wasters — and well aware of the fact. "How often do you wash?" he asks.

He means how often do I use the washing machine. That I know, but as I can't yet see the point of the question, I answer guardedly but honestly: on Wednesdays and, sometimes, on Saturdays too.

I am an exception to the rule, it seems. In most German homes the washing is done on Mondays, a day on which sewage works have trouble coping with the extra suds. I help to stagger the washing cycle.

Pick shows keen interest in how I wash. How often, at what temperature, using how much of which detergent?

German washing machines do a hard day's work. They seldom have a day off, and on average they are used on 320 days a year. Water is far too often brought to the boil, unnecessarily and to the detriment of the environment. As for detergents, it depends which kind you use and how much of it.

I am given to understand that I use far too little. Two plastic beakers for both washes is nowhere near the manufacturer's recommendation for water as hard as in Hamburg.

I am given a thorough grounding in tensides, phosphates, optical brighteners and the way in which various detergents work.

"Why train the heavy artillery on washing you seldom boil anyway?" he asks me. A washing powder for coloureds is usually enough; it contains fewer harmful substances and doesn't *bleach* the washing so powerfully.

After a look inside my machine Herr Pick says it doesn't seem to have any ill-effects from the quantity of detergent I use.

Most German households stock a small army of assorted detergents, softeners, pastes and so on. They salve the conscience but are a burden on the sewage system and don't really wash clothes any cleaner or brighter.

Herr Pick says people are unlikely to stop buying these additives until they realise they are a waste of money that can be saved without the slightest disadvantage in terms of washing that doesn't look as clean and fresh as that of housewives in TV adverts.

Herr Pick is a very observant man. He notices, for instance, that we have no wood panels painted with harmful varnish.

He nods approvingly on seeing that our toilet has a water-saving attachment to prevent nine litres of water going to waste every time anyone flushes it.

That is a most important point for eco-egoists. This water-saving device (half a brick in the cistern will do the *trick too) will save over 10,000 litres of* water a year.

If every Hamburg home had one the city would no longer need to worry whether it was going to have sufficient water supplies in future.

Besides, water is metered in Germany and charged by the cubic metre, so the saving is immediate and quantifiable.

My pots and pans meet with approval. They have heavy bottoms and lids that fit: another way of saving energy.

Water, he says, is best boiled in one of the latest electric kettles. They use much less energy than boiling water on the hob and are far less wasteful than coffee machines.

We have only one spraycan filled with harmful gas in the house; all the others have hand-operated atomisers.

The dishwasher only runs when it is fully laden (otherwise there is a risk of breakages).

And I sterilise baby's bottle with hot steam from the kettle rather than with a disinfectant full of chemical additives.

But these good marks are only one side of the story. We come in for our fair share of criticism too, Herr Pick takes a dim view of the contents of our cleansing cupboard.

It contains bottles of all-purpose cleanser (which contains tensides), disinfectants (containing phenole and aldehyde), a steel cleaner (contains solvent), glass cleaner (contains ammonia), drain cleaner (particularly reprehensible) and furniture polish.

They are all toxic to varying degrees and not just dangerous but unnecessary, Herr Pick says.

You only need four cleaners in the house: liquid soap, scourer (liquid if need be), alcohol as a stain remover and vinegar to decalcify kettles and boilers.

Using these four and nothing else saves both space and money, and there



Eco-counsellor Heinz Jürgen Pick (Photo: Wolfgang Wilki)

is nothing that special products can clean more satisfactorily.

Where do I junk all these bottles, jars and cans? Not in the dustbin, that's for sure. Hamburg refuse disposal department has issued a useful brochure explaining where and how to *dispose* of toxic waste.

The trouble is that the brochure is for insiders only. It is available at local authority offices but hasn't been mailed to all households, which would have been more to the point.

Good intentions *are not enough*; they can often be *foiled* by details such as *this*. Herr Pick's pep group are keen to ensure change.

There have been many enquiries about their advice service, and others, including local authorities, have followed suit.

There are 40 environmental counsellors around the country. They include unemployed teachers hired under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission.

They advise people in their own homes, where blissful ignorance is most easily identified and remedied. On-the-spot advice is obviously more effective than the most well-meant ecological brochure or course of instruction.

But the Hamburg counsellors have written a book too.

Gege, Jung, Pick, Winter (Eds): Das Öko-Sparbuch für Haushalt und *Familie* (The Eco-Savings Book for *Household* and Family), Mosaik Verlag Munich, DM16.80.

In it they say a family of four can save DM2,000 a year by taking their advice.

Before taking his leave Herr Pick notes with a frown that baby has plastic toys and warns me about the danger of cadmium. What, I ask him, is his opinion of disposable nappies?

Disposable diapers are clearly a tremendous waste of material, not to mention disposal facilities. [illegible] condemn them [illegible] The towelling variety may be reusable, but washing them daily a burden on the environment too.

He warns me not to do my ironing in the children's room. Ironing releases steam containing formaldehyde in a quantity that can still be measured in the room an hour later.

My ecological homework has taken exactly three hours. Before he goes I ask Herr Pick where he strikes a personal compromise for the sake of comfort or convenience.

After a moment's reflection he says he enjoys eating meat now and then and still brushes his teeth with warm water, not cold.

Anna von Münchhausen

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 14 March 1986)

■ SEXUAL EQUALITY

Berlin women undecided on rape tactics

Male violence was discussed at a Berlin women's centre in connection with a case in which a woman anaesthetist accused two fellow-doctors of raping her.

Most cities are pretty peaceful places at 6 o'clock on a Saturday evening. Berlin is no exception.

There's hardly any traffic on the roads, many people have just finished their afternoon coffee, men start putting their feet up to watch sport on TV, and women start cooking supper in the kitchen.

Although the gathering of 50 women at the Berlin Women's Centre didn't exactly disturb the peace, plenty of steam was let off during a debate on violence against women.

The centre itself is a dilapidated yel*low-grey building*, and its facade shows that *the place* has a long tradition.

The inscription *Schneider in Berlin, 1886* (Tailors in Berlin, 1886) is still legible on the two stone reliefs, and the "Guild of Gentlemen's Tailors" still has its head office there today.

The main item on the meeting's agenda was how to respond to the outcome of a recent trial, in which two gynaecologists stood accused of having raped a woman anaesthetist.

A poster for a concert by woman singer Ina Deter hung on the information board in the spacious room in which the meeting took place.

The words on the poster, in which Ina Deter could be seen jumping over the globe, summed up the mood of the meeting: women take longer to come, but when they come they come strong.

Before the discussion got under way a decision had to be taken on whether a journalist from the Berlin magazine *Zitty* should be allowed to take part.

After she promised not to publish what was said at the meeting the other women said she could.

My own position was also rather precarious, and the big question was whether I was spying for the Establishment or merely one woman among others.

Most women at the meeting didn't know each other and represented a wide variety of different women's groups.

Some were worried a directional microphone might be somewhere in the vicinity, having seen a police car outside the building.

Such conspiratorial oversensitivity was *misplaced anyway* given that so many women turn[illegible] cussion circle originally planned had to be postponed.

The key question at the meeting was how to deal with violence.

Hardly any women expect help from the courts in this respect, particularly since the two gynaecologists in the rape trial were acquitted.

The joint plaintiff's (i.e. the allegedly raped anaesthetist's) two female lawyers didn't turn up for the verdict, which means that a possible appeal will not even be considered.

This is just one of many rape cases which are dragged through the popular press.

The women at the meeting agreed that rape is just part of the violence inflicted upon women and that it's no good "picking on individual men."

The main thing is to change the system, said one woman. "Men are the system!," came the prompt reply. "Maggie Thatcher is too!" someone else remarked.

This kind of humorous verbal exchange was pretty rare. Although the women by no means shared the same views they expressed them in a cool and composed way.

The discussion was peaceful and relaxed, and at least half the 50 women actively took part in the discussion.

Their remarks were often clever, sometimes amusing and rarely clumsy. All the women came along wearing bulky casual shoes or boots. No-one wore a skirt.

Nevertheless, the struggle against violence and (some) men has not robbed them of their "specifically" female qualities: patience and the ability to give others a hearing.

One woman who kept on passing comment on what others had to say was criticised for rating the content of remarks rather than criticising them in a constructive manner.

The frankness of this discussion may of course have something to do with a feeling of helplessness.

Only a few of the women at the meeting — perhaps three or four of those



who spoke — were active women's libbers.

One of them brilliantly stated her position in a gruff, serene and somewhat sarcastic way. "We don't need laws," she said, "we need our own sense of sovereignty, our own power.

"Too many women haven't got enough anger, or they haven't got the courage to admit that they feel angry. Anger is our power — and I know how far my hatred goes."

Nevertheless, she added, she wouldn't go so far as to thrash a rapist in a forest somewhere with a broom-stick.

If she did thrash him, she said, "there would be something missing afterwards."

Most of the women at the meeting found this highly amusing, but the woman who said it seemed more serious about her threat.

Nevertheless, she didn't interrupt another women who adopted a more legalistic stance:

"Laws reveal what a society is willing or not willing to accept."

To operate outside of the law would be detrimental to the women's liberation movement, she claimed. Private revenge was not the answer.

The majority of women at the meeting also complained about their own naivety.

The sense of companionship and to-[illegible] women's liberation movement leaves much to be desired.

Why, for example, didn't all the women in court during the rape trial move to the front when the judge sentenced three women to three days imprisonment for contempt of court following a commotion in the auditorium?

It was stressed during the meeting in Berlin that the women's response to this kind of situation must be arranged beforehand. Trust alone is not enough.

However, the discussion began to fizzle out as someone tried to talk about future activities.

It soon became clear that there would be no resolutions this evening. The "deeply rooted self-sacrificial stance" of most women, it was claimed, was to

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Woman, foreigner, black — threefold discrimination

Gaby Franger: Wir haben es uns anders vorgestellt. Türkische Frauen in der Bundesrepublik, Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt, 103 pp, DM7.80.

We Were Expecting Something Different is the title of Gaby Franger's book on Turkish women living in Germany.

In the book, eight Turkish women talk about their life stories in only *slightly abridged interviews.*

The book is the story of life as a migrant, a tale of isolation, of speechlessness and of a sudden and radical change in social and moral values.

The women interviewed refer to what it is like to be painfully separated from their children and relatives.

They talk about the twofold burden of going to work and running a household, about their total dependence on their husbands.

In many cases, the women are only granted a residence permit via their husbands.

All eight women feel they are faced by two kinds of discrimination: against women and against foreigners.

As women they are confronted by the dilemma of having to come to terms with both the traditionally "more backward" role assigned to Turkish women and the role of a "modern" Western European woman.

As foreigners they have to cope with the growing hostility towards foreigners.

Gaby Franger shows us that the Turkish women are the worst off among women foreigners.

In most cases, they are abruptly uprooted from the rigid socio-cultural structures in their native country and seek their orientation in the world of a modern industrialised society.

One of the eight women in the book, Ayse, who will soon be returning to Turkey for good, sums up the feelings of many Turkish women: "We were expecting something different."

Katja Perlet (Ed): Ich liebe einen Ausländer!, Buntbuch Verlag, Hamburg, 108 pp, DM15.80.

"Everyone has the right to choose the partner he or she wants. But is this true?"

With an eye to the realities of multiracial partnerships in the Federal Republic of Germany this is a central question posed by Katja Perlet's book.

Although laws banning multi-racial marriages no longer exist in this country Katja Perlet's publication of taped interviews reveal that foreigners are often given a rough ride by authorities.

The experience of women whose boyfriends or husbands are foreigners may vary, but they all share the common feeling of day-to-day disparagement, social isolation and bureacratic harassment.

The author does not claim that her book is a scientific study, avoiding any comments on the virtually unabridged interviews.

The result is a descriptive snapshot, whose intention is "to give those affected a sense of solidarity" and make a "contribution towards better understanding for binational partnerships."

The appendix to the book is correspondingly pragmatic, listing useful addresses and advice on laws relating to foreigners and hints on how to deal with authorities which take "discretionary decisions" on matters involving foreigners.

The *Interessengemeinschaft der mit Ausländern verheirateten Frauen* in Frankfurt, a group which voices the interests of German women married to foreigners, is just one of the institutions listed.

Gisela Fremgen: und wenn du dazu noch schwarz bist. Berichte schwarzer Frauen in der Bundesrepublik, CON Medien und Vertriebsgesellschaft, Bremen, 156 pp, DM15.-.

Gisela Fremgen's book takes a closer look at the specific problems facing coloured women living in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Black people are more frequently subjected to primitive and dangerous types of racism than other foreigners.

On the one hand, they are often insultingly called *Neger* (Nigger) and regarded as either savages or starving, underdeveloped and begging Africans.

Stories of the exotic and animalistic sexual desires of the *Neger* women in the

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Emancipation for men!

A Hanover engineer has accused the *city council* of sex discrimination. It advertised a job as head of an equal opportunities department — for women applicants only!

Knut Morgenroth, a Hanover engineer, has accordingly lodged an official complaint against Friedhelm Handke, head of the city's personnel department.

His suspicions were confirmed when he applied and was sent an application form headed "Dear Sir" — but again for women only.

Herr Morgenroth feels discriminated against because, being a male applicant, he does not see any chance of getting the job in the women's office.

Morgenroth gathers from the job application forms sent by Herr Handke's department that a man is unwanted in the office. The application is for women only.

Admittedly the town hall sent him a form with "Dear Sir" on it. But that also contravenes the principle of equality.

The applicant found the following sentence even more offensive: "The selection of a woman head will take some time."

Morgenroth complained to the city council that to advertise for a specific sex was against the law.

He demanded for the position, which has been advertised twice, a legally valid selection procedure.

He finds it absurd that sexual discrimination is being practised in of all places a department with gives advice on matters of equality.

Herr Handke maintains there was no conscious contravening of the law. "It may have been just negligence that the text on the form only referred to women," he says.

Out of 160 applications only five men bothered to apply.

The women's office will one day have to occupy itself with discrimination due to negligence.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 March 1986)

■ HEALTH

Partnership and separation cause more illness than ever

Relationship or separation problems and the illnesses they cause are more widespread today than ever before.

The psychotherapy department at Würzburg University has recently looked into the problem.

At the turn of the century Franz Kafka described in his "Letter to Father" extremely vividly, almost brutally, his fear of relationships.

He wrote: "Blood came out of my lung because of the superhuman strain of wanting to marry."

Kafka, who died of tuberculosis at 41, in this way strikingly described his desire for security and closeness on the one hand and its physical consequences on the other.

The Würzburg findings indicate that most men and women undergoing therapeutic treatment have a physical illness along with their relationship problems.

About 500 men and women are treated there every year. About 420, somewhat more women than men, have relationship problems.

Dieter Wyss, head of department, says problems are caused by not knowing how to cope with relationships or separation.

He and his assistant, Herbert Csef, conclude that for people between the ages of 20 and 40 the most central problems are ones of friendship or marriage.

Psychologists say there are two groups. The first, about one patient in three, are tormented before the start of a relationship, above all by conflicting needs for close contact and keeping distance.

The other group is made up of long-standing relationships. For them many a physical illness is the expression of an unresolved claim of ownership, such as jealousy or a dominance problem.

According to Wyss it's a matter of who wears the trousers in the marriage.

Whereas every couple has to struggle with its own special problems, the typical relationship illnesses are the same everywhere.

He says couples wear themselves out, sometimes for years on end, with arguments and power struggles, without coming to terms with the crux of the problem.

The widespread consequences are often highly dangerous ulcers. Long term treatment or surgery without simultaneous psychotherapy is usually unsuccessful.

Men and women react to relationship problems with asthma or functional heart complaints, which are often ac-

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

companied by fears of dropping dead. Wyss says that migraine, back and stomach pains, depression and numerous sexual disturbances such as impotence and *frigidity* are normal reactions to partnership conflicts.

Women react with anorexia nervosa. As a protest against their female role they often refuse to eat.

Csef reports that men increasingly react to separation with illnesses.

This may be attributed to cultural changes resulting in women more than ever before taking the initiative in quitting relationships.

Depression crops up also when couples fail to actively struggle with each other. Too often their day consists of icy silences, mutual disinterest, resignation or boredom.

In these agonising relationships couples mutually destroy and exterminate one another.

As with separations, which are like confrontations, such long-term destructive partnerships can be a slow form of dying.

Yet the Würzburg psychologist is not of the opinion that partnerships themselves cause illnesses. As a rule an incapacity to have a relationship is at the heart of the matter.

Wyss says the apparent freedom of our industrial society has made partner changing more common today.

In the past couples would have been forced, especially by the financial dependence of women, to come to terms with their problems.

Today they are more likely to run away from them. According to Wyss couples have often not learned how to approach a relationship and married despite being mentally unprepared for it.

If the marriage broke down, usually because of false expectations, they looked for someone else in disappointment.

Wyss maintains that this is precisely the stage where one should look closely for causes of disappointment or possible sources of fears of having a relationship.

Often unreconciled parental relations are the cause. Csef had the case of a young woman who felt her mother was present in the marriage bed.

The department attempts to work out this range of problems in group or client-orientated therapy.

Dreams can be of particular benefit: dreams in which instinctive relationships are re-experienced and little by little rediscover a psychological balance.

Csef says: "The art of living is to be able to be in a relationship without ossifying, and to live creatively the possibilities of loving togetherness."

The erotic relationship to the partner is, along with common interests, very important:

"Not everyone needs psychotherapy. It is more important to begin to talk understandingly to one another without flogging everything to death."

Maria A. Speck/dpa

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 March 1986)

Millions suffer from noises in their ears

Beethoven suffered from tormenting noises in his ears. "My ears buzz and roar all day and night. I can say I lead a wretched life," he once said.

His younger colleague and composer Friedrich von Smetana also suffered from demonic noises. So did painters Vincent van Gogh and Francesco Goya.

The composer Robert Schumann was agonised in the quiet by concert pitch A.

Sensitive artists are not alone in being afflicted by unbearable noises. The number of people with this affliction is rapidly and alarmingly increasing.

Leverkusen ear specialist Franz-Josef Ganz has written about this trend in a *book devoted to sufferers from tinnitus. It* is published by Georg Thieme in Stuttgart.

He suffered for years from ear noises, or tinnitus, as it is medically known. It is an affliction which lay non-sufferers often laugh at and which often leaves doctors in hopeless resignation.

Dr Ganz estimates that the number of sufferers runs into the millions.

There are no exact figures. But observations by general and clinical practitioners describe a symptom with the characteristics of an epidemic.

According to Dr Ganz there is as yet no verifiable explanation. But stress does play a decisive role.

Usually medicines are prescribed which promote circulation of the blood, of which he does not think very highly.

In his opinion tinnitus sufferers shoud see their affliction as a warning signal and find out which stress factors are threatening their health.

He believes curing tinnitus by overcoming stress calls for psychological change from within, conscious moderation and inner sacrifice.

It requires a radical rejection of antibiological prosperity, excessive consumption and affluence.

He also urges exercise and relaxation training through self-hypnosis, meditation and bio-feedback.

In order to alleviate the pressure of suffering, which can drive many to the point of suicide, he recommends as an initial measure, the drowning out of tinnitus.

This can be achieved by opening windows and letting in outside sounds.

For quiet days and nights he recommends installing sound producers. These are devices with whose help tinnitus can be effectively smothered.

The possibilities range from simple radios to sleeping aids which acoustically reproduce waves breaking or wind blowing.

Peter W. Fischer

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 22 March 1986)

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yellow press confirm the *prejudices* in many people's minds.

All this may sound overexaggerated but the author cites examples to prove her point.

The book presents extracts from children's books, youth magazines, schoolbooks, newspaper articles and of course, jokes about black people in an effort to show how widespread racism is and how black people are often depicted.

There would seem to be a piece of South Africa in us all.

The book provides more than just the reports of the women affected. It must rate as a successful documentation of racism, though a more comprehensive history of racism and a more extensive bibliography would have been more appropriate for this topic.

Walter Saller

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 23 March 1986)

Rheumatism isn't just in the mind

A German specialist says there is probably no such thing as a rheumatism-prone personality. Pain comes first, then the psychological problems it poses.

Helmut Köhler of the Psychosomatic Clinic in Windach has investigated whether rheumatism, particularly chronic polyarthritis, is caused by psychological strain.

His findings indicate that the assumption of a rheumatism-prone personality is probably false.

Psychological risk factors which are supposed to promote the occurrence of chronic polyarthritis, the most serious form of rheumatism, have been disproved by research findings.

Dr Köhler says tests have shown that sufferers from polyarthritis behave differently from healthy people, yet there are no differences between them and other chronic sufferers.

Research findings highlight that psychological problems first arise after contraction of the disease.

Problems such as adjustments in lifestyle, continuous pain, fatigue, feebleness, functional impairment and deformation of joints lead many patients to conceal their illness from other people.

Köhler says: "Understandably, these patients often become very sensitive, reclusive, brood over illness and become more passive in many areas of living. They finally call into question their own self-esteem."

The sufferer risks falling into a vortex of psychological problems. The suffering, the ominousness of the illness become of more central importance.

Dr Köhler has come to the conclusion that psychological therapy has to be incorporated right from the beginning in a comprehensive treatment.

The uppermost aims of the treatment are the reduction of fear and the keeping within limits or the total overcoming of self-isolation tendencies.

The psychotherapy offers the patient guidance on how to alleviate sensitivity to pain.

Experience has shown that patients cope better with pain if they are involved in an interesting activity and do not brood over it all day long.

The patient thus learns how he can divert his perception of pain with internal and external [illegible] manoeuvres.

In cont[illegible] rheumatic [illegible] believes that mental strain plays a large role in causing rheumatism in boneless areas of the body.

Complaints about sinews, ligaments, connective tissue and the muscle system can grouped together.

In this area one has mechanical causes such as unfavourable posture at work or lack of exercise.

Psychological problems also make their contribution. They vary a lot, ranging from shyness, self-consciousness and work demands to relationship problems.

All this can be shown to lead to physical tension and, over longer periods, to chronic tension of the muscle system with corresponding states of pain.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 March 1986)

■ MODERN LIVING

Migrants' rights reviewed at Aspen seminar



Americans are proud of their heritage as a nation of immigrants, the proverbial melting-pot. Immigration, followed by gradual assimilation, has worked for centuries.

After five years of legal residence migrants are still entitled to US citizenship, but they increasingly retain distinct and separate communal identities.

In New York the Chinese, Koreans, Colombians, Hispanics, Poles and Russians remain dynamic communities in multinational coexistence.

The Federal Republic of Germany has no ambition of becoming a melting-pot. Yet four and a half million migrants already live in Germany and 1,600,000 of them must be regarded as members of the labour force.

Will the Federal Republic in the long term insist on the present generation of migrant workers fully integrating and renouncing their previous citizenship before naturalisation and full acceptance as German citizens?

These and other aspects of the problem were dealt with at an Aspen seminar in Berlin. Attended by politicians, experts and representatives of minorities, the seminar dealt with ethnic minorities in Western Europe.

In the Federal Republic migrant workers enjoy full rights only at work, where they are fully entitled to vote in works council elections.

In the 1984 works council polls at firms all over the country foreign workers are reported by IG Metall, the engineering workers' union, to have made up 11 per cent of councillors elected.

Foreign nationals are not yet entitled to vote in either local government, state assembly or Bundestag elections, but the political franchise is increasingly being raised as an issue.

German speakers at the Aspen seminar were confident more attention would be paid to it over the next 10 years.

In Sweden foreigners were excluded from political activity of all kinds, even demonstrations, in the 1950s.

In 1976 they and their families were entitled to vote in local elections provided they had lived in Sweden for at least three years.

In three rounds of local government elections held since 1976 the number of foreigners who bothered to vote surprisingly declined from 59 to 45 per cent.

The Swedes attribute this fall in turnout to frustration. Foreign workers, they say, were expecting too much of the franchise and were disappointed when improvements in living conditions made slow headway.

The Swedish debate on the vote for foreigners may be considered to have been typical. There were, for instance, widespread fears that foreigners would found political parties of their own and import alien conflicts.

But only two such parties have been founded — locally — and only one has survived, while fears of political extremism have proved unfounded.

The vote has been invaluable in promoting integration. It has made foreigners pay much closer attention to Swedish politics and society.

Swedish parties have also changed, growing keen to select ethnic candidates and champion foreign workers' interests.

Denmark and Norway have since followed in Sweden's footsteps. Foreigners have just voted for the first time in Dutch local government elections too.

German views on Scandinavian experience and the questions it prompted varied.

Christian Democrats said migrant workers were bound to expect too much of the vote; they were a minority and would remain one at the polls.

The franchise for foreign residents even at the local level would exact a high political price and require enormous efforts among the general public.

Migrant workers' problems can only be solved gradually and on the understanding that there are no more waves of immigrants.

Social Democrats in contrast felt local government franchise for migrant workers would force German politicians to take a keener interest in migrant workers' interests.

IG Metall representatives at the Berlin seminar called for a total political reorientation in the Federal Republic and advocated the full franchise for foreign residents.

Turks are the largest ethnic group in Germany. The Turkish authorities are known to maintain close links with Turks in Germany. Young Turks have to do military service back home for instance.

The Turks are known to have no desire to relinquish their Turkish citizenship even though it is increasingly unrealistic to expect them to go home after a few years earning good money in Germany.

Most are here for good, but they don't want to become German citizens. A representative of the Turkish community in Berlin explained why.

Most Turks who live and work in Germany, he said, were not educated enough to have any clear idea what naturalisation was or entailed.

Many were worried it might mean forgoing their identity as Turks or Moslems. But time would tell and such fears could be overcome.

One idea was to allow Turks dual nationality for, say, three or five years. At the end of this period they would then have to decide on one citizenship or the other.

The Turkish government was said to be in favour of this idea. Turks hoped this might be a way in which they could gain equal rights.

You have to have lived in the Federal Republic for 10 years before you can apply for naturalisation. Many Turks have fulfilled this requirement since 1981 but few have applied: only 0.1 per cent of those entitled.

In 1981 the number of Turks who became naturalised Germans was 530. The figures for 1982, 1983 and 1984 were 568, 846 and 1,042 respectively — and these figures were nationwide.

In other Western European countries such as Britain and France foreign residents may not be entitled to vote in local government elections but many more are naturalised and entitled to vote like anyone else as a result.

In Britain foreigners are entitled to British citizenship on application after five years' residence. Since 1981, when aliens legislation was made stricter, about 50,000 a year have become naturalised Britons.

Commonwealth citizens are entitled to dual nationality in any case. On arrival they must register and are granted British citizenship (and the vote) without forfeiting their original nationality.

But Britain has reduced from 18,000 to 6,000 a year the number of permitted immigrants.

Nearly 1.7 million foreigners live in Britain. About one million enjoy full political rights. Over 600,000 do not.

In France there are about 4.5 million foreigners who are not French citizens. Over the past decade about one million have been granted French citizenship and equal rights.

Many were foreigners born in France or married to French citizens. Others were North Africans.

Only foreigners who have been legally resident in France for five years may apply. But those who don't, choosing to remain foreigners, are not entitled to vote at any level.

Uwe Schlicht

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 16 March 1986)

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blame. One very smart-looking woman from Hamburg called for the "social ostracism" of rapists.

She explained to the meeting how this [illegible] in Hamburg, after a woman was indecently assaulted by an apprentice. Leaflets with a photo of the man in question were distributed throughout the city.

However, when some women turned up to disrupt the apprentice's master craftsman exams they were beaten up by thugs the apprentice had hired.

Of course, this brutal failure is not worth repeating.

And yet the same kind of campaign has been launched against one of the gynaecologists recently acquitted of rape.

One woman is distributing leaflets in hallways and letter boxes in Berlin written in German and Turkish.

Apart from the name, address and photo of the man in question the leaflet also contains an "indictment" by the women.

The leaflet very much resembles a "wanted" poster, with words of warning and contempt.

Some of the women suggest pestering the acquitted doctors by picketing their surgeries if and when they reopen.

The discussion, therefore, came full circle at the end of the evening, returning to the rape trial issue.

Some of the women called for "political activities" while others didn't really know what to do.

The self-assured women's libber from Hamburg called upon the others to "keep in touch over the phone" but this almost sounds like saying goodbye in a pub somewhere.

Was the meeting a disappointment?

One of the women working at the Women's Centre put the answer in the right perspective:

"I don't feel it's that bad if nothing happens at the moment; the problems are here to stay."

Cornelia Köster

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 March 1986)